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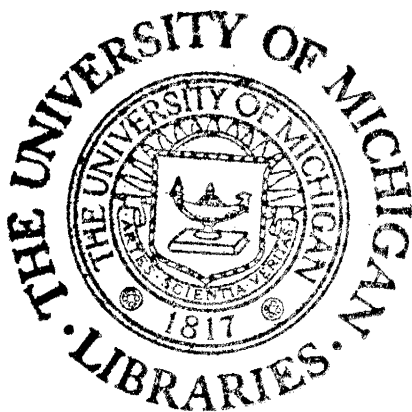


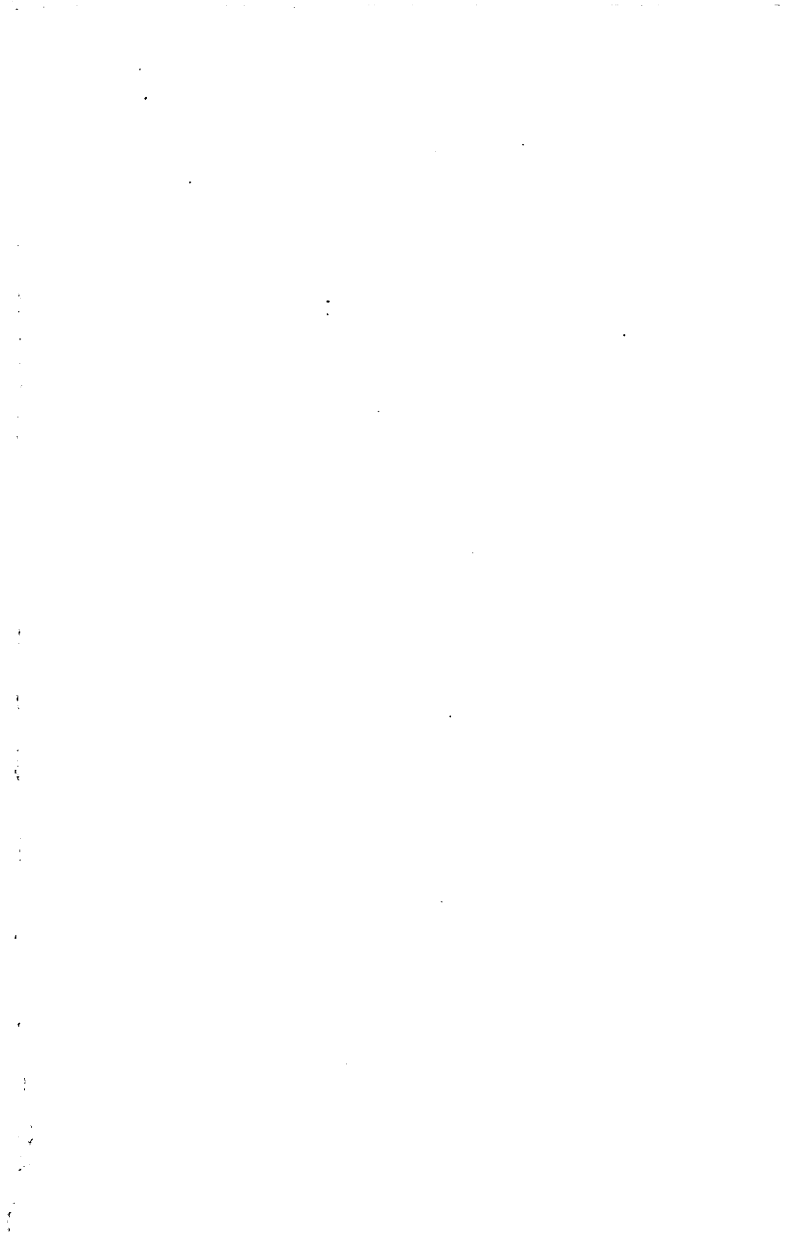
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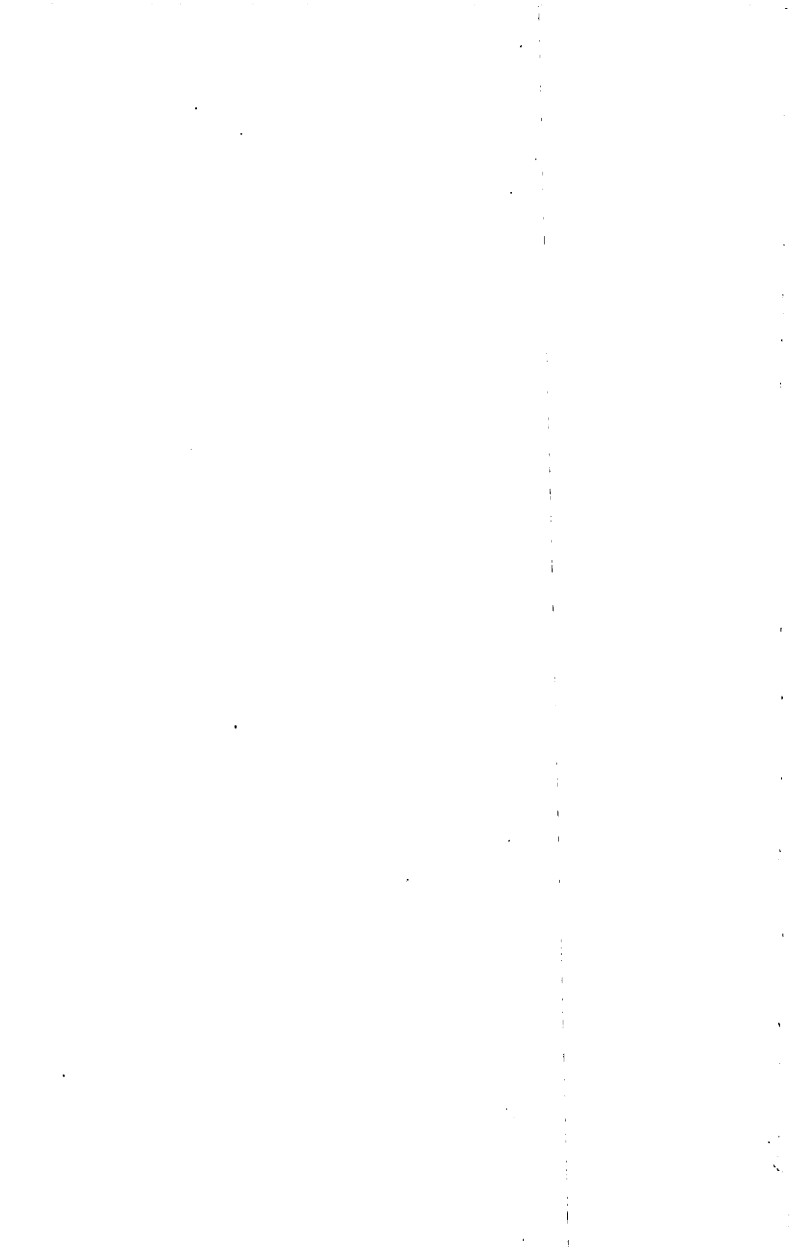
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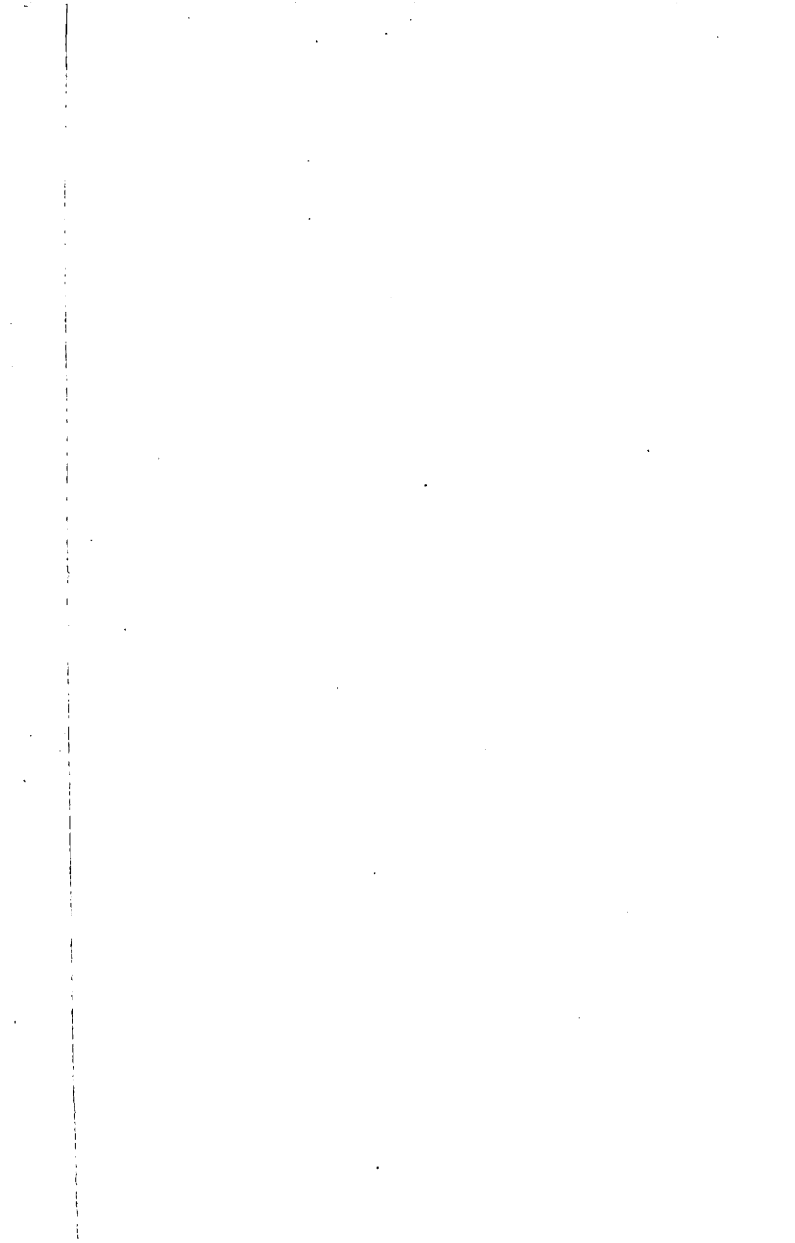






# AMERICA IN HAWAII







KAMEHAMEHA I

FIRST KING OF THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS

1795-1819

*From a Painting in the  
Possession of the Boston  
Athenaeum*

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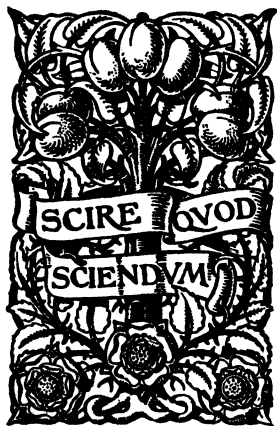
# America in Hawaii

A History of United States Influence in the  
Hawaiian Islands

81573

By

Edmund Janes Carpenter



Boston  
Small, Maynard & Company  
1899



TO ALL MY HAWAIIAN FRIENDS  
ALOHA



## PREFACE.

*After the lapse of more than a century, during which the attention of the American people has been more and more closely drawn to the Hawaiian Islands, this archipelago has become American soil. It has been the aim of the author to trace, in as simple a manner as possible, the growth of American influence and sentiment in these Islands from their earliest beginnings to their culmination in annexation to the United States. While the author does not care to conceal from the reader in this brief introduction his thorough sympathy with the movement, in the Islands and in this country, which ended in annexation, he has endeavored, in the narration, to eliminate from it, as far as possible, any sentiment of partisanship, and to tell the story plainly, as the records have told it to him. For the facts of Hawaiian history, as contained in the earlier portion of the work, the author must acknowledge his indebtedness to the "History of the Hawaiian or Sandwich Islands," by James Jackson Jarves (Boston, 1843), a book long out of print, and to "A*

## PREFACE

*Brief History of the Hawaiian People," by Professor W. D. Alexander, of Honolulu. The first-mentioned of these authors, by a long residence in the Islands, became familiar with many of the traditions of the native people, and was a careful observer of their habits and customs. The last-named work, prepared at the request of the Hawaiian board of education, was written by one who had constant and unrestricted access to the principal existing collections of Hawaiian manuscripts and to the earlier and later archives of that government.*

*It gives the author pleasure, also, to acknowledge his indebtedness to the Hon. Gorham D. Gilman, of Boston, Hawaiian Consul-general for New England, whose fund of information, gathered in a residence of twenty years in the Islands, from 1841 to 1861, is rich and valuable, and has been placed freely at his disposal; to Mr. Edward M. Brewer, of Messrs. Charles Brewer & Co., of Boston, for many facts of interest touching the early commercial relations of the United States and the Hawaiian Islands. To him, also, the publishers are indebted for*

## PREFACE

*the excellent portrait of his father, Mr. Charles Brewer, one of the pioneers in the Hawaiian trade.*

*The later chapters, which deal with the diplomatic and political phases of the "Hawaiian Question,"—a question with which this country has been concerned for the better portion of half a century,—have been drawn from published public documents of the two governments. For very many Hawaiian documents of the greatest value the author is indebted to the Hon. Henry E. Cooper, of Honolulu, late Minister of Foreign Affairs; and the cheerfulness with which the Hon. Henry Cabot Lodge, a senator of the United States for Massachusetts, has met his requests for copies of similar documents published at Washington, has made it a pleasure even to apply to him for them.*

*To the trustees of the Boston Athæneum both author and publishers are indebted for permission to reproduce from the original painting in their possession the portrait of Kamehameha I which adorns the volume.*



# CONTENTS.

CHAPTER	PAGE
I. PRIMITIVE HAWAII . . . . .	1
II. THE COMING OF THE MISSIONARIES . . . . .	20
III. HAWAIIAN COMMERCE . . . . .	29
IV. DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BEGUN . . . . .	53
V. THE PAULET EPISODE . . . . .	71
VI. FOREIGN AGGRESSIONS . . . . .	86
VII. LOOKING TOWARD ANNEXATION . . . . .	106
VIII. RISE OF THE SUGAR INDUSTRY . . . . .	120
IX. THE KALAKAUA RÉGIME . . . . .	133
X. CESSION OF PEARL HARBOR . . . . .	146
XI. ACCESSION OF LILIUOKALANI . . . . .	158
XII. THE REVOLUTION OF 1893 . . . . .	173
XIII. THE FRUIT RIPENS. . . . .	192
XIV. ATTEMPT AT RESTORATION . . . . .	206
XV. ANNEXATION . . . . .	225



## CHAPTER I.

### PRIMITIVE HAWAII.

THE long period of relations between the government of the United States and that of the Hawaiian Islands, culminating in the summer of the year 1898 in the political union of the two nations, is as unique as it is one of the most remarkable episodes in our American history.

The origin of the brown-skinned Polynesian race, the original inhabitants of the Hawaiian Islands, has not been satisfactorily traced by ethnologists. The time of the settlement of the Islands by these people is not fixed by the traditions, but it is believed to date as early as the year 500 A.D. When, on the 18th of January, 1778, Captain James Cook, the English navigator, having set sail from Bolabola, one of the Society Islands, came in sight of the island of Oahu, he found this group of islands thickly inhabited by this gentle yet warlike people. This event must be regarded as the turning-point in the history of the Hawaiian Islands; for now for the first time the people came in contact with the white race.

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

The discovery of these Islands by Captain Cook, however, was, in reality, a rediscovery ; for, doubtless, the first white person ever seen by the simple Hawaiians was the captain of a vessel — presumably Spanish — which was wrecked on the south coast of the Island Hawaii, probably at some period in the sixteenth century. The sister of the captain, who was accompanying him on his voyage, was likewise, so says the tradition, saved from the wreck. The two strangers were received kindly by the natives, who set food before them, and cared for their wants, so that in the process of time they became reconciled to their lot, and intermarried among the people of the Islands. Well-known families of chiefs are said to have sprung from these unions.

In the year 1542, the Spanish navigator, Juan Gaetano, voyaging in the Pacific Ocean as pilot for Ruy Lopez de Villalobo, had discovered the Caroline Islands. A few years later, so say unpublished Spanish archives, on a second voyage Gaetano discovered a group which, on an ancient Spanish manuscript chart preserved at Madrid, is laid down at



## PRIMITIVE HAWAII

a point near that where modern geographers place the Hawaiian Islands upon their maps. It is, therefore, believed that in the year 1555 Juan Gaetano was the first true discoverer of the Islands. Contenting himself with giving fanciful names to the various members of the group, Gaetano apparently made no effort to reap any benefit from his discovery; and the natives remained in undisturbed possession of their country until the arrival of Captain Cook off their coasts, with his fleet of two armed vessels, *Resolution* and *Discovery*. He found, as has been intimated, a simple people, having no written language, and living under a form of government and social order primitive to a degree. The traditions of their origin were extremely vague. The most definite of these traditions appears to be one of an original migration from some far-off place, but further than this the original settlement of this island group is wrapped in mystery. The presence on the Islands of prehistoric works would point to an early occupation by a people somewhat advanced, but this is but conjecture.

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

Captain Cook named the group the "Sandwich Islands," after his patron, the fourth Earl of Sandwich.\* He estimated the number of inhabitants at four hundred thousand. The accuracy of this estimate cannot be determined, but it is beyond question that the native people were vastly more numerous then than at the present day. Their system was a feudalism, much resembling that of Europe in the former days. The people were divided into three classes: the nobles, *alii*, in which class were included the kings and the chiefs of various grades; the priests, or *kahunas*, who were believed to possess the spirit of divination; and the common people, or *makaainana*. The chiefs were believed to be of divine origin, and were regarded with the greatest awe by the common people. The king was the sole proprietor of the soil, and owned all that grew upon it, as well as the fish in the sea and the time and labor of the common people. Lands were held by the high chiefs, by sufferance

\*The name "Hawaiian Islands" has been used throughout in this volume in preference to that given by Captain Cook, both as being associated with the earlier name of the islanders and as being finally authorized in official and popular use.

## PRIMITIVE HAWAII

of the kings, in fief, in return for military service and tribute. Each of the great chiefs divided up the lands controlled by him among the lower chiefs who owed him vassalage; and they, in turn, subdivided the lands among the common people, who cultivated the soil. These were mere tenants at will, and might be dispossessed at any time. It was possible, also, for a serf to transfer his allegiance to another chief, and thus transfer also his tenancy. At the death of a chief the estates in his keeping reverted to the king, and were redistributed. At the death of a king, also, and the accession of another it was the custom to make a redistribution of all the lands of his island; and this redistribution not infrequently was the cause of civil war.

Such was the political condition of the people of the Hawaiian Islands at the time of their discovery by Captain Cook. Their social relations were indefinite. A plurality of wives was common, and polyandry was practised to some extent. There was an elaborate system of *tabus*, which were not simply laws, but religious and sacred ordi-

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

nances as well. The violation of a *tabu* would, it was believed, bring upon the transgressor the vengeance of the gods. It was *tabu* for men and women to eat together.

Some kinds of food were *tabu* to women, as, for example, pork, bananas, cocoanuts, turtles, and certain varieties of fish. At certain times it was forbidden to light a fire; at others, to utter any sound for the space of twenty-four hours. In the operation of this *tabu*, not only was all noise forbidden to the people, but dogs were muzzled, and even fowls were confined in calabashes, that the darkness might prevent even the crowing of a cock. Human sacrifices were common, the illness of a chief or the violation of a *tabu* being often the occasion.

Among such people, thus bound by superstition and tradition, Captain Cook and his followers found themselves. To the vast majority of the people a white man was an object never before seen. They recognized his superiority over themselves; and they believed him to be a god, and offered him their obeisance. It was in the midst of one of the civil wars with which the Islands were fre-

## PRIMITIVE HAWAII

quently convulsed that Captain Cook made his first visit. It was in this war that the young prince Kamehameha, of the island Hawaii, distinguished himself as a brave and skilful warrior. He it was who a few years later conquered the entire archipelago, uniting all of the Islands under his sway, and founding a powerful dynasty of Hawaiian monarchs.

Captain Cook, as already said, was, on his arrival, regarded as a god, and was, to some extent, worshipped by the people. His first stay at the Islands was short, but he soon returned for the purpose of passing the winter. This second time he and his men were not welcomed so joyfully as on their first appearance. Depredations had been committed on shore by some of the crew, and thefts by some of the natives of some articles of little value had been punished by Cook and his men with great severity. The discovery on the part of the natives that the white men partook of food, added to the knowledge of the death of one of the crew, raised a suspicion among the Hawaiians that these sailors were men, like themselves. Violations of the

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

*tabus* by the white men created first a dislike and then an enmity toward their visitors in the minds of the natives. This feeling was intensified by the loose conduct of members of the crew on shore leave. But there was yet no open hostility ; and early in February, 1779, Captain Cook again sailed away from the Islands. In a few days, however, he returned for the purpose of making some needed repairs to one of his ships, which had encountered damage in a severe gale. An altercation almost immediately occurred between the natives and members of the crew, the subject of the contention being a stolen boat. The altercation ripened into a quarrel, the quarrel into a *mêlée*, and this resulted in the death of Cook at the hands of one of the natives. In revenge for his death the village of Napoopoo was cannonaded ; and on the twenty-fifth day of February, 1779, Captain Cook's vessels took their final leave of the Islands, leaving upon the minds of the islanders an impression of the white race far from agreeable.

It is interesting to know that the island natives of the present day have preserved the memory of the first white discoverer of their

## PRIMITIVE HAWAII

islands in the erection of a marble monument upon the spot where he met his death. This monument is a conspicuous landmark upon the shore of the island Hawaii, at Kealakekua Bay.

The story of the death of Cook was carried to Europe by the returning ships, and, as might be expected, was told by the ship's crew in a manner best suited to their own advantage. The impression of the character of the islanders thus produced upon the people of Europe sufficed to keep enterprising voyagers away from those coasts for fully seven years. During this period the Islands were rent by civil feuds. Prince Kamehameha gathered to himself a considerable military following, and made unsuccessful war against the two allied chiefs of the Islands. He also made a fruitless attempt to invade the island of Maui. But, although beaten back in those expeditions, he was not discouraged.

In May, 1786, the English ships *King George*, commanded by Captain Portlock, and *Queen Charlotte*, under command of Captain Dixon, arrived off the coast of Ha-

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

waii. They touched at Kealakekua Bay ; but the natives here, who had not forgotten their experiences with Cook and his men, did not give the new-comers a hearty welcome. The commanders of the vessels were doubtless recognized by the villagers, for both had been with Cook's party. They touched at other points in the Islands, however, purchasing supplies of fresh water, paying therefor in sixpenny nails, at the rate of one nail for a two-gallon calabash of water. At another spot on the coast they bought yams, and then sailed away. In the autumn of the same year they were again among the Islands, purchasing supplies of the natives, and paying therefor with nails, beads, and pieces of hoop-iron. In the following year, also, these navigators paid a brief visit on their way to China.

In May, 1786, the French explorer La Pérouse, with two frigates, touched at the Islands ; but his stay was but for a day. The experiences of these expeditions encouraged others to make the Hawaiian Islands a place of call ; and during the next few years many vessels engaged in the fur-trade with the



## PRIMITIVE HAWAII

coasts at the northward stopped here, especially in the winter season. One of these birds of passage, the *Nootka*, Captain Meares, took one of the great chiefs, Kaiana, as a passenger to China, where he obtained fire-arms.

In the latter part of the year 1789 the first recorded connection of America with the Hawaiian Islands was made; and this, unhappily, is an incident which the people of the United States might well be glad to forget. An armed trading vessel, or "snow,"—a rig now obsolete,—called the *Eleanor*, commanded by Captain Metcalf, an American fur-trader, visited the Islands on a voyage to China. The *Eleanor* was accompanied by a smaller vessel called the *Fair American*, commanded by the son of Captain Metcalf, a youth of eighteen. While the *Eleanor*, which had been separated from her consort, was lying at anchor off the coast of Maui, a boat was stolen by natives, and broken up for the sake of its nails and iron. Captain Metcalf planned a fearful revenge for this depredation. A few days later, when the water about the vessel was full of canoes,

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

crowded with natives who had come off for the purpose of trade, suddenly a broadside of cannon and musketry was fired from the ship. The water was instantly covered with dead and dying men and women, mingled with broken fragments of their canoes. More than one hundred innocent persons were killed in this wanton massacre; and many more than that number were wounded.

After the perpetration of this act of gross cruelty, Captain Metcalf sailed away, and dropped anchor at Kealakekua Bay. Here he awaited the coming of his consort, which in the mean time had been detained by Spaniards at Nootka Sound. The *Fair American*, however, was surprised and captured by the natives, in revenge for the massacre; and the captain and all but one of the crew were killed. The mate, Isaac Davis, was captured and detained on shore, together with the boatswain of the *Eleanor*, John Young, who happened to be on board the smaller ship. These two men were retained in captivity, but were treated with great kindness, and at length became contented with their lot. They were raised

## PRIMITIVE HAWAII

to the rank of chiefs, took to themselves native wives, and became exceedingly useful to the people by teaching them many of the arts of civilization. Their memories are still cherished by the Hawaiians.

The natives were now in possession of a small cannon captured with the *Fair American*, and a similar piece presented to Prince Kamehameha by Captain Douglas, of the British ship *Iphigenia*, which touched at the Islands in December, 1788. They owned a number of small arms, some of which had been brought from China by Kaiana, and others doubtless taken from the *Fair American*. They learned the use of these weapons from Davis and Young, and a trained body of troops was formed.

Kamehameha, accordingly, resolved to renew his attempt to conquer the island Maui, and raised a large force of warriors for that purpose. He crossed the channel from Hawaii in the summer of 1790, and advanced upon the villages of Maui. He was met by a great force of brave warriors, but their primitive weapons were no match for his own cannon and muskets and the trained forces

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

led by Davis and Young. The defeated were driven mercilessly through the valleys and over the lofty precipices of the island, great numbers being slain.

Kamehameha returned to Hawaii, to quell an uprising of the rival chiefs of that island which had occurred during his absence. After several hard-fought battles, this was accomplished; and he became master of the great island Hawaii, the first step in the consolidation of the group under one government. He then began and carried to successful completion the conquest of the remaining islands. His great armada is said to have consisted of hundreds of canoes, sufficient to stretch along a beach for the distance of four miles. The great battle of Nuanuu Valley, upon the island Oahu, was the decisive engagement of his war of conquest. Kamehameha, who was assisted by his brother Nahiolea, landed upon the shore of this island with a large army, and marched up Nuanuu Valley. Here he was met by a force under the command of Kalanikupule and Kaiana. A desperate battle ensued, his opponents making a brave resistance against

## PRIMITIVE HAWAII

the invaders, until Kaiana was killed by a cannon-ball. They then broke and fled, closely pursued by Kamehameha. Some escaped by clambering up the steep heights on either side of the valley. Others were driven to the extremity of the valley, and there forced in hundreds over the Nuanuu *pali*, or precipice, to perish miserably at its foot. It is said that at this beautiful spot, which is at no great distance from the present city of Honolulu, bones of the victims of this historic battle are even now occasionally turned up by the spade.

The effect of this battle, which was fought in April, 1795, was to bring the entire archipelago practically under the sway of Kamehameha. It was not until the year 1810, however, that the islands of Kauai and Niihau, which were under the control of King Kaumualii, acknowledged the rule of Kamehameha I, the first of the line of Hawaiian monarchs. Thenceforward the white men who visited these Islands found them under a single government, with which alone they could treat.

For many years after the capture of the

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

*Fair American* and the affair of the *Eleanor* the Islands received occasional visits from English or American vessels, but no serious attempt was made toward a white settlement of the Islands. In October, 1791, the sloop *Lady Washington*, of Boston, under command of Captain Kendrick, touched at Kauai, and left on shore three sailors to gather sandalwood, which once grew in the Islands in great abundance. This marked the beginning of the sandalwood trade with China.

In 1792 Captain George Vancouver arrived, in command of the armed British vessels *Discovery* and *Chatham*. He came again in 1793, and still a third time in 1794. On each of these visits Vancouver gave the island people orange-trees, grapevines, and other plants and seeds, but resolutely refused to give them the fire-arms which they so greatly coveted. He also presented Kamehameha with a bull and cow, and a number of sheep, the first animals of the kind ever seen on the Islands.

\* These visits of Vancouver are of great significance and importance. It was he who

## PRIMITIVE HAWAII

first imparted to Kamehameha some idea of civilized society and of the Christian religion. On the 21st of February, 1794, in a grand council of chiefs, called by the king, on board the *Discovery*, the Islands were formally placed under the protectorate of Great Britain; and the British flag was raised and saluted. The cession was never ratified by the British government; and a promise made by Vancouver to send out to them missionaries and artisans, to instruct them in religion and the arts of civilization, was never fulfilled. This work was left to be performed by the new republic of the west.

In 1809, Baránoff, the Russian governor of Alaska, is said to have entertained some idea of forming a colony at the Islands; and several Russian vessels between the years 1809 and 1815 touched here for brief periods. At Honolulu the crew of one of these vessels built a block-house, mounted a few guns, and hoisted the Russian flag. A fort of considerable size was also built at Waimea, and the Russian flag displayed. Negotiations were opened for the lease of the whole island, but these were never consummated.

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

By the advice of John Young a native fort was built at Honolulu, to command the harbor. It was constructed of coral rock, and cannon were mounted. When this was completed, Kamehameha requested the Russians to withdraw from his dominion; and the request was complied with. The aggression was afterward disavowed by the Russian government.

The death of Kamehameha I occurred in May, 1819, at the age of eighty-two years. Before his death he forbade the sacrifice of human victims,—a ceremony believed to prolong life. The slight civilizing influences which contact with a few whites had brought during his reign had led to the feeling that a better system of religion somewhere existed. But, although the king was willing to make the concession noted, he could not separate himself from the traditions of his fathers in which he had been brought up, and in which he had lived so long a life. His queen, Kaahumanu, however, had a greater breadth of vision. Having been appointed by the dying king to be the guardian of the young Prince Liholiho, soon to be King Kamehameha II,



## PRIMITIVE HAWAII

and also to be premier, to exercise equal authority with the king, she almost immediately, upon coming to power, proposed that the *tabus* should no longer be recognized. Through her influence they were soon formally broken, Liholiho and his chiefs, both men and women, participating in a feast together, thus disregarding the most sacred of the *tabus*. By its open violation by the king and chiefs the entire elaborate system of *tabus* fell to the ground, and with it the system of idol-worship. The idols and their temples were burned, the high-priest himself setting the fire.

The deeply rooted custom could not, however, be easily eradicated; and an armed insurrection against the king occurred. This was soon quelled, and the new order established; but Hawaii exhibited the remarkable spectacle of a nation without a religion, waiting for some far-distant, unknown people to bring to them that for which they longed, but concerning which their ideas were but vague and uncertain. The annals of Christian civilization have few more remarkable passages.

## CHAPTER II.

### THE COMING OF THE MISSIONARIES.

SUCH was the social and political condition of the Hawaiian Islands at the time of their discovery, and for some years thereafter. The brief visits of trading or merchant vessels to some part of the coast brought the natives in only occasional contact with white civilization; and these experiences, as already seen, scarcely served to give to these simple people an impression of admiration and respect for the white man. They had now no written language, no system of hieroglyphics or pictographs. They had, it is true, a vast number of traditions, which had been transmitted from generation to generation doubtless for centuries. Many of their religious and semi-religious rites and ceremonies were shocking to the civilized eye, in what seemed their immorality and indecency. The rise of the whale-fishery served to increase the number of the visiting vessels, the whale-ships employing the Islands as places of rendezvous for fresh supplies and water. The personal morality of the people was in no manner improved by these visits. A vessel in the offing



REV. PETER J. GULICK  
MISSIONARY TO THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS  
1828-1874

*From the Missionary  
Herald, June, 1879*



## THE COMING OF THE MISSIONARIES

was at once surrounded by the canoes of the natives, who offered the products of the Islands for barter. But, even more swift than the canoes were the native women, who swam out to the vessel, and climbed to the deck by the fore chains. Deeper and deeper, then, were these people sinking into degeneracy. The baseness of their religious ceremonies was in no whit lessened by contact with such of the whites as they had seen, and the foulest of diseases speedily fastened themselves upon these unhappy people.

But the day of their deliverance from this evil influence was at hand. The story opens with the discovery of a young lad, in the year 1809, upon the steps of Yale College at New Haven. He was weeping. His face was of a brown hue, unlike that of any of the well-known races; his hair was straight and black; his eyes, dark and lustrous. Who was this boy, and why was he here? He could speak a broken English; and, when questioned as to the cause of his grief, he declared that he was weeping at the thought of his ignorance and of that of his people.

The mysterious boy, then fourteen years

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

of age, was Obookiah, a Hawaiian, who later was given the name of Henry. During one of the civil wars with which his island home was often convulsed, his father and mother had been slain before his eyes. Taking his little brother upon his back, the boy endeavored to save himself and the child. But the little one was slain with a spear cast by an enemy, and alone the lad fled to the mountains. An American vessel, commanded by Captain Brintnell, lay in the offing ; and the lad escaped, with two native companions, from an almost certain death to the protection of our flag. He was brought to New Haven, and there came in contact with educational influences. He was taken as a pupil by the Rev. Edwin W. Dwight. To him and to others the boy told of the condition of his people, then so far away, and said that he longed to get instruction, in order that he might some day return to his native islands and convey to them what he had learned. This dream was not to be realized, for his life soon closed. But the work which he had begun was continued by the two Hawaiian youths, the companions of his escape. Their

## THE COMING OF THE MISSIONARIES

names were Tamoree and Hopu, names which are cherished, together with that of Obookiah, as the true founders of Hawaiian missions and their concomitant, Hawaiian civilization.

In the year 1819 a missionary band, intended for Hawaii, was organized in Boston; and in Park Street Church in Boston, in October, 1819, its members were formed into a church. Seventeen persons comprised this little company of religious adventurers, among them Hiram Bingham and Asa Thurston, then recent graduates of Andover Theological Seminary; Thomas Holman, a physician; Daniel Chamberlain, a farmer; Samuel Whitney, a mechanic; Samuel Ruggles, a teacher; and Elisha Loomis, a printer. These brave men were all accompanied by their wives, and Mr. and Mrs. Chamberlain took with them their family of five children. The remaining members were three Hawaiian young men, Tamoree and Hopu, and another who had since joined them, John Honoree.

Solemn and interesting religious services were held at the Park Street Church on the eve of their departure to a far-off, unknown land, upon what seemed an almost hopeless errand.

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

The brig *Thaddeus* set sail from Long Wharf in Boston, conveying this party, on Saturday, the twenty-third day of October, 1819,—a point of time, it will be noted, almost identical with the death of Kamehameha I, the breaking of the *tabus*, and the fall of idolatry.

At one o'clock on a moonlight night in March, 1820, Mr. Ruggles, who was sleeping in his bunk on shipboard, was awakened by a touch upon his shoulder. It was Hopu who stood there, and silently he beckoned his friend to arise and go on deck with him. There before them lay the peaks of Hawaii, their cold white summits glittering in the moonlight. A few hours later, as they drew near to the shore, Hopu was able to point out to his friends gathered on deck the valley in the familiar landscape where he was born. He was all impatience, and begged to be set on shore, that he might learn some tidings of his people. His wish was granted, and in a small boat Hopu set his face toward the land. Before reaching the shore, he encountered a native boat, with fishermen on board, out for an early catch. The party upon the deck



## THE COMING OF THE MISSIONARIES

watched the colloquy, and then saw that the ship's boat was returning. A little nearer as it approached, they could see that Hopu was standing in the boat and waving his hat, as if to convey joyful tidings. When he came nearer, he shouted to his friends the wonderful story, which we already know,—that the idols of Hawaii had been burned, the *tabus* broken, and the people were waiting for their coming.

The company was received with a joyful welcome. Mr. Bingham, Mr. Loomis, Mr. Chamberlain, and Honoree at once began work on Oahu. Mr. Ruggles and Mr. Whitney with Tamoree went to Kauai, of which island the father of Tamoree was the subject king. The king received his boy with open arms, and adopted Mr. Ruggles as his son, giving him the rank of chief. A school-house and a chapel soon arose, and the king of Kauai and the chiefs with their families were the first pupils. The strange, mellifluous language of the natives was soon reduced to writing; and Mr. Loomis, with his little printing-press, printed the first spelling-books for these simple people, eager to learn.

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

Several accessions to the number of this heroic band from Massachusetts came a little later, and the work of civilizing the Hawaiian people progressed rapidly. Five years after the landing of the American missionaries the principal chiefs had agreed to recognize Sunday as a holy day, and had adopted the Ten Commandments as the basis of government. A law was passed forbidding women to visit ships for immoral purposes. Crews of British and American vessels attempted to obstruct the work of the missionaries, and the house of one of their number was assailed upon two occasions by ruffians from the British whaling-ship *Daniel*. The life of the same man was once threatened by a similar mob. This was in 1826. Their murderous intentions were foiled by the natives, who thronged about the threatened missionary, and protected him from harm. Still, again the same man was attacked by a gang of sailors, who attempted his life, as before, on account of his firmness in protecting the virtue of the native women. Upon this occasion it is related that the Chiefess Kapiolani, a woman of gigantic stature, herself alone drove back

## THE COMING OF THE MISSIONARIES

the mob, threatening to have them all put in irons if they did not obey her.

Eight years after the landing of the missionaries they saw abundant fruits of their labors. Four hundred and forty native teachers were aiding them in their work, and the spread of civilization was rapid. In 1836 so encouraging were the reports sent back to the United States that a strong re-enforcement, consisting of thirty-two missionaries, was sent out. To follow in detail the labors of the missionaries in evangelizing these Islands is no part of the plan of this work. The design is to show the operation of this missionary work in promoting American civilization in the Hawaiian Islands. It must suffice to note that, so successful was the work and so completely had this group of islands in the mid-Pacific come to be recognized as a civilized nation so early as 1840, the care of the public schools, which had been established by the missionaries, was assumed by the government.

A constitutional monarchy had arisen upon the ruins of the ancient pagan despotism. The city of Honolulu, once a wretched vil-

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

lage of grass huts, was now a beautiful and prosperous city. A race of naked savages had become a people who wore the clothing of civilization, recognized the institution of Christian marriage, had reformed their licentious habits, and had dotted every hillside throughout the Islands with churches, school-houses, and comfortable dwellings. A legislature and courts of justice were established; and in the process of time higher institutions of learning were founded, and suitable buildings erected for their occupancy. On the fifteenth day of January, 1842, died Tamoree, the last survivor of the little company of Hawaiian youths whose influence had been so potent in the establishment of the Hawaiian missions and in the redemption of Hawaii. He was born in a simple grass hut: he died in the beautifully appointed Queen's Hospital at Honolulu. In his sixty-six years of life he had seen his people rise from a condition of seemingly hopeless savagery to one of enlightenment, and had the satisfaction in his last hours of knowing that he had been employed as a main instrument in the accomplishment of these marvellous results.

### CHAPTER III.

#### HAWAIIAN COMMERCE.

LET us now consider the history of the commercial relations of the United States with the Hawaiian Islands,—a history which extends backward for well over a hundred years. In the year 1786 the attention of Joseph Barrell, a merchant of Boston, was called to the narration of the voyages of Captain Cook; and the spirit of commerce and adventure was aroused. He conceived the idea that profit might be made by visiting the coasts and islands which had been the scenes of Cook's adventures, and collecting from the natives, by barter, the furs of the Alaskan and Oregon coast and the sandalwood, cocoanut oil, and other products of the newly discovered Pacific islands. He interested a number of merchants in his project and a stock company was formed, with a capital of fifty thousand dollars. The members of this company were Joseph Barrell, Charles Bulfinch, and Samuel Brown, of Boston; John Derby, of Salem; Captain Crowell Hatch, of Cambridge; and John Marden Pintard, of New York. They purchased two vessels

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

for their proposed expedition. These were the ship *Columbia*, commanded by Captain John Kendrick, of Wareham, Mass., and the sloop *Lady Washington*, commanded by Captain Robert Gray, of Boston. The ship was, of course, the chief vessel of the expedition; while the sloop, being of light draught, was designed for the purpose of skirting along shores and running into little bays and inlets for the purpose of trade, conveying its purchases later to the ship.

The two vessels set sail from Boston in the year 1787, amid the farewells of the people of the city, who took a deep interest in the enterprise. After visiting the Oregon coast and discovering a great river, which received the name of the ship, the *Columbia*, the vessels proceeded to the Hawaiian and other islands of the Pacific.

In the summer of 1790 the expedition returned to Boston, and was received with acclaim. Cannon were fired in salute, and the cheers of the people greeted the returning voyagers. Governor John Hancock gave an entertainment in honor of the officers and owners. A procession escorted the returned

## HAWAIIAN COMMERCE

adventurers about the streets, Captain Gray walking arm-in-arm with a Hawaiian chief who had accompanied the party to this country, and who was the first of his race to be seen in the streets of Boston. The chief is described as wearing one of the famous cloaks with accompanying helmet, formed of yellow and scarlet feathers, the badge of royalty.

At an early period in the intercourse of the natives with white men the traffic in sandalwood assumed a great importance. The chiefs perceived the great value which the white man placed upon this wood, and claimed for themselves exclusive rights in the whole traffic. They despatched parties of men from time to time with instructions to penetrate into the interior in search of trees. The labor was arduous, and the periods of absence from the villages and from their families were long and exceedingly irksome to the men who were so unfortunate as to be included in these expeditions. But the rewards to the chiefs were great; for they received, by way of barter, quite often the two things which they most greatly coveted,

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

—fire-arms and ammunition,—and, in many cases, intoxicants.

So earnestly was the trade in sandalwood prosecuted and so vigorously was the search for it continued that not many years elapsed before the supply began to be exhausted; and at the present day the sandalwood tree is popularly believed to be extinct in the Islands. It has been said that the native common people, to whom the search for sandalwood was, as already said, exceedingly burdensome, in their determination to do away with their enforced labor, were accustomed, during their expeditions, to destroy all the young trees which chanced to come in their way. Scientists, it should be added, however, who are familiar with the appearance and habits of this tree, are authority for the statement that some fine specimens of the sandalwood tree are still to be found in the remote parts of the Islands; and it is not wholly impossible that with proper government supervision this valuable wood may yet again become an important article of Hawaiian commerce.

China being the chief country for the



## HAWAIIAN COMMERCE

consumption of sandalwood, the American sandalwood traders, having obtained a cargo, were accustomed to convey it thither for a market, afterward investing the proceeds of their sales in teas, silks, and other products of the Orient. It is curious to note that for many years the greater number of American trading vessels which frequented the Hawaiian Islands were from Boston. Island people of this period were accustomed to speak of America as Boston and of Americans as Bostonians.

On January 23, 1803, the first horse which the natives of the Islands had ever seen was brought in a vessel from Boston. Its beauty and power created mingled admiration and terror, and then a desire for more of these strange and useful animals. Several horses from the California coast (then a Spanish province) arrived in a vessel not long after; and thus the Islands speedily became stocked, and the natives rapidly became expert horsemen.

To the trade in sandalwood was soon added that in pearls and pearl-shell, and it was chiefly by his traffic in these commodi-

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

ties that King Kamehameha acquired his wealth. In addition to the articles already mentioned the natives received as barter, cloths of American and English manufacture, in which they greatly delighted, and especially articles of iron. It will be remembered that the islanders at the coming of the white men were tempted by the nails and other small articles of iron which they saw about the ships, to commit theft and even murder in order to possess them. A boat belonging to a visiting vessel was stolen and broken up upon the beach solely for the sake of its nails and iron. Hardware in all its forms, therefore, became a frequent object of barter in return for articles far more desirable to the whites, but the commercial value of which the natives did not comprehend. It is narrated, for example, that King Kamehameha I was anxious to possess an anvil which he saw on board of a visiting ship. Desirous, probably, of having a little sport at the expense of the king and his people, the captain told him that it would be given to him upon condition that his divers should engage to bring it up from a depth of ten

## HAWAIIAN COMMERCE

fathoms of water. To this the king eagerly assented ; but, after the anvil had been rolled overboard, the divers discovered that the weight was so great that they were not able to bring it to the surface. The natives, however, were not to be foiled in their effort to secure so valuable a prize. A party of expert divers, occasionally coming to the surface for breath, succeeded in rolling the anvil along the sandy bottom for the distance of half a mile, where they finally brought it safe to shore.

The whale-fisheries of the United States which in the earlier part of this century formed an important part of the business of New England seaports, maintained a close connection with the Hawaiian Islands. The supply of whales was far greater in the Pacific than in the Atlantic Ocean ; and vessels in great numbers from New Bedford, Nantucket, Provincetown, Edgartown, and other New England ports, frequently found it necessary to touch at the Islands for repairs or for fresh provisions and other supplies. As early as the year 1823 it was not uncommon to find from forty to sixty American

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

whale-ships at anchor at one time in the harbor of Honolulu. From January 1, 1836, to the end of 1841, a period of six years, no fewer than three hundred and fifty-eight vessels hailing from American ports touched at this port. Of this number, fully four-fifths were whale-ships, the average expenditure of which on shore is said to have been not far from seven hundred dollars each. During this same time the English vessels arriving in port numbered eighty-two, and the French seven. These numbers are all exclusive of vessels of war. At Lahaina, Maui, the average number of American whale-ships annually in the same period was from thirty to fifty; and at other island ports, from twelve to twenty.

During the period mentioned the importations from the United States amounted to nearly, if not quite, one million dollars. The exports from the Islands during the same period were upward of five hundred thousand dollars in value. Large as the figures seem, even the enterprise of the Boston merchants who established, and for so long chiefly maintained, the commerce between

## HAWAIIAN COMMERCE

the United States and the Hawaiian Islands, could hardly have foreseen what magnitude it would attain in our own day.

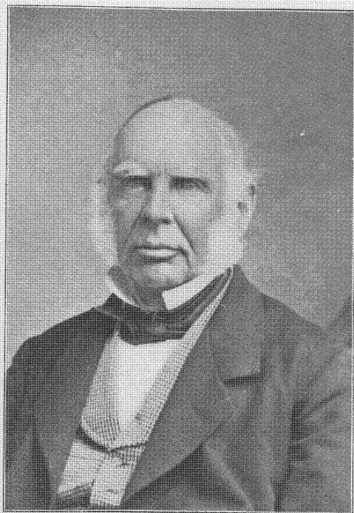
In February, 1823, a Boston-owned vessel, the *Paragon*, set sail for a voyage to the Islands. The owner of the ship was Josiah Marshall, and the commander Captain William Cole. Two names were upon the passenger list: Thomas Crocker, who was going out as United States consul for the Hawaiian Islands, and Robert Elwell, the consular clerk. The *Paragon* carried the frames of two schooners which were put together and launched at Honolulu. When finished, they were used for coasting among the Islands and gathering sandalwood. The second officer of the *Paragon* was John Dominis, a family name destined in years to come to attain prominence in the political affairs of the island kingdom. The son of John Dominis, John O. Dominis, in later years became the husband of a native princess, Lydia, who later in life ascended the throne under the name of Liliuokalani.

Another of the crew of the *Paragon* was Charles Brewer, a young man of Boston,

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

who later became one of the most prominent of the resident Hawaiian merchants and whose name is inseparably connected with Hawaiian history. He early became master of a vessel employed in the Hawaiian trade, and for many years was thus engaged, commanding at various times the brig *Becket* of Salem, the ship *Rasselas* of Boston, the brig *Laura*, and other craft. Becoming thus familiar with the commercial possibilities of the Islands, Mr. Brewer, in connection with Mr. Henry A. Pierce—who afterward occupied the position of United States minister to the Hawaiian Islands—and Mr. James Hunnewell, both of Boston, established a commercial house at the Islands, and engaged actively in trade with ports of the United States. This house, under the name of Charles Brewer & Co., is still (1898) well known in Boston and in Honolulu.

The importation of neat cattle into the Islands by Vancouver has been noted. These increased with great rapidity, large numbers of them, in a few years, being found to be running wild throughout the mountains and the vast unsettled regions. Large flocks of

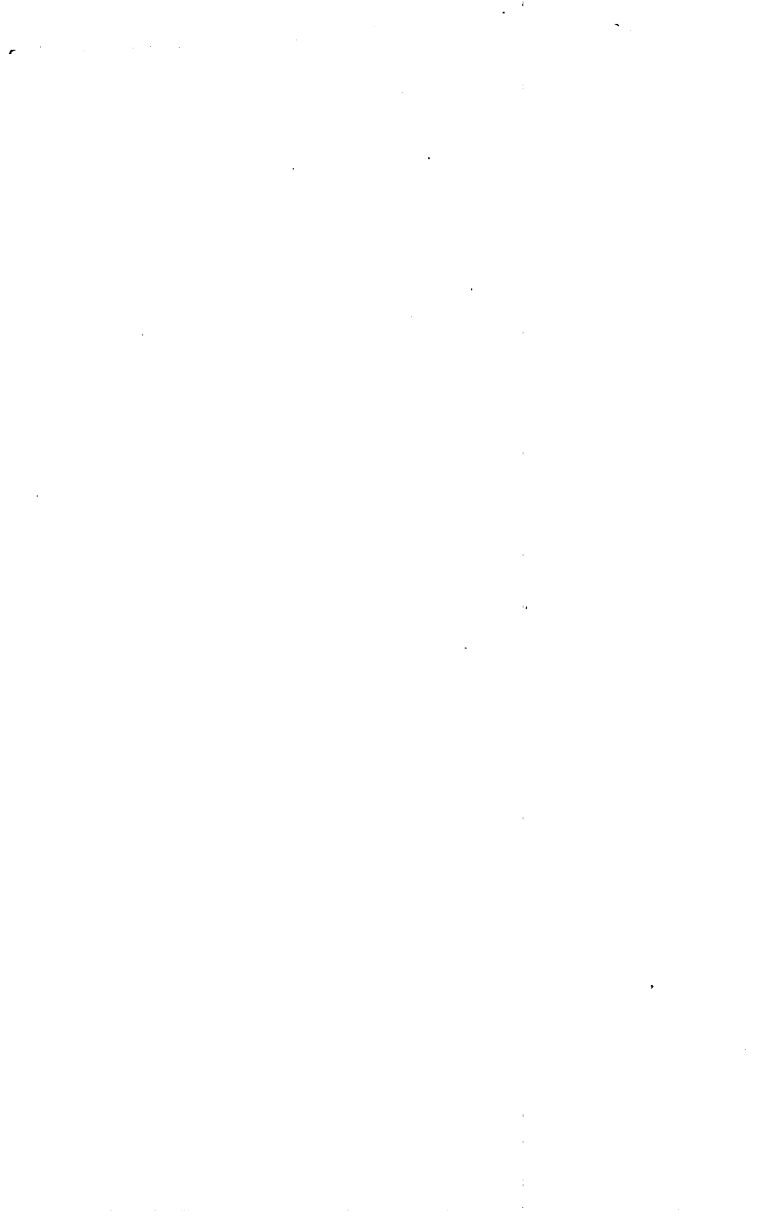


CHARLES BREWER

1804-1885

A PIONEER IN HAWAIIAN COMMERCE

*From a Photograph by  
Black, Boston, about 1875*





## HAWAIIAN COMMERCE

wild goats were also to be found ; and the flocks of sheep, the progeny of a few pairs imported soon after the arrival of the cattle, were found to yield an excellent quality of wool. The value of the cocoanut-trees, with which the shores of the Islands were fringed, especially for their yield of oil, was also early recognized. The commercial utility of the wild flocks and herds and of the vegetable products of the Islands was perceived by scattering white men, who, cast ashore from wrecked vessels or deserting from ships in the harbors, had settled here and there throughout the Islands. From these men, mainly, were purchased wool, hides, goat-skins, tallow, and cocoanut oil, which were loaded upon the waiting ships and conveyed to market at American ports.

The promoters of the American whale-fisheries soon discovered that time and money might be saved by unloading their oil at Honolulu and there depositing it for transshipment in merchant vessels for home ports. The whale-ships were thus enabled to return to the fishing-grounds, avoiding a long and at times dangerous voyage homeward with

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

their cargoes. Honolulu thus, until the decline of the whale-fisheries,—which marked their highest point in the year 1854,—became an important point toward which the eyes of hundreds of New England people were eagerly turned. The ship-owner awaited news from that port of the safe arrival of his vessels from the fishing-grounds, and from thence received the cargoes of oil which had there received temporary storage. The families of the seamen, who had been left at home, eagerly watched the newspapers for announcements of arrivals from Honolulu; for such announcements brought with them a feeling of hope, if not certainty, that letters from the absent ones would soon come to their hand.

The adaptability of the soil and climate of the Islands to the raising of sugar-cane was discovered at an early day, and some of the first white settlers engaged in its culture. As early as 1853 nearly three thousand acres of cane were under cultivation, and the acreage has rapidly increased until the cultivation and exportation of sugar has become the chief industry of the Islands. In the year

## HAWAIIAN COMMERCE

1897 nearly two hundred and fifty thousand tons of sugar were exported, the entire amount being sent to the United States.

In the year 1855 a treaty of reciprocity was concluded between the United States and the king of the Hawaiian Islands, Hon. William L. Marcy, Secretary of State, acting in behalf of this country, and Judge Lee, the king's commissioner, in behalf of the native government. This treaty appears to have been approved by the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs ; but, on submission to the vote of the Senate, the required two-thirds majority was not obtained, and the treaty failed of ratification.

In the year 1864, during the progress of the Civil War, the subject of a revival of this treaty was broached ; but on account of the probable effect of such a measure on the public revenue, at a time when the financial resources of the country were strained to the last degree, it was not deemed advisable that the subject should then be revived. A few years later another attempt was made, though with no better success. On the first day of February, 1867, Hon. Edward McCook, then

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

minister of the United States at Honolulu, was instructed by Hon. William H. Seward, then at the head of the Department of State, to the effect that the United States would look favorably upon a plan for a revival of the reciprocity treaty of 1855, but upon terms more liberal to the United States. Acting upon this suggestion, a new treaty was framed and concluded by Mr. McCook, on the part of the United States, and Hon. C. C. Harris, Hawaiian minister at Washington, acting as a commissioner representing the Hawaiian king. This convention was concluded at San Francisco in May, 1867, and received the approval of President Johnson; but it, too, met the fate of its predecessors, failing of ratification in the Senate. Pending the Senate's discussion, Mr. McCook, in a private note addressed to Secretary Seward, asked for leave to visit Washington at about the time of the assembling of Congress, to communicate his views to the senators.

"Should the treaty be ratified," writes Mr. McCook in confidence to the Secretary of State, "I shall feel that I have accomplished

## HAWAIIAN COMMERCE

all I can accomplish in my present position, and shall probably wish to return to my home in Colorado, unless you should favor the absolute acquisition of the Hawaiian Islands, in which event I would like to conduct the negotiations. I think their sovereignty could be purchased from the present king [Kamehameha V, Prince Lot], and feel sure that the people of the United States would receive such a purchase with universal acclamation."

Mr. Seward, in a confidential note in reply to this communication, granted the leave of absence asked for, and also gave permission to sound the proper authority "on the large subject mentioned" in his note, and confidentially receive overtures.

Although it failed in the Senate, the treaty was, after some delay, ratified by the Hawaiian government July 30, 1867. There was at this time an undoubted feeling in the Islands strongly favorable to annexation to the United States; and this feeling was, to some extent, reciprocated in Washington. In September, 1867, Mr. Seward wrote to Mr. McCook, pending the assembling of Congress, that "a strong interest, based upon a desire

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

for annexation of the Sandwich Islands, will be active in opposing a ratification of the Hawaiian treaty. It will be argued," he continued, "that the reciprocity will tend to hinder and defeat an early annexation, to which the people of the Sandwich Islands are supposed to be now strongly inclined. . . . It is proper that you should know, for your own information, that a lawful and peaceful annexation of the Islands to the United States, with the consent of the people of the Sandwich Islands, is deemed desirable by this government, and that, if the policy of annexation should really conflict with the policy of reciprocity, annexation is in every case to be preferred."

In accordance with advice received in this letter, Mr. McCook, after all, did not visit Washington. In the annual message of President Johnson to the Fortieth Congress, presented December 9, 1868, the President urged attention to the treaty still pending, in these words :—

I am aware that upon the question of further extending our possessions it is apprehended by some that our political system cannot successfully be ap-

## HAWAIIAN COMMERCE

plied to an area more extended than our continent; but the conviction is rapidly gaining ground in the American mind that, with the increased facilities for intercommunication between all portions of the earth, the principles of free government — as embraced in our Constitution, if faithfully maintained and carried out — would prove of sufficient strength and breadth to comprehend within their sphere and influence the civilized nations of the world.

The attention of the Senate and of Congress is again respectfully invited to the treaty for the establishment of commercial reciprocity with the Hawaiian kingdom, entered into last year, and already ratified by that government. The attitude of the United States toward these Islands is not very different from that in which they stand toward the West Indies. It is known and felt by the Hawaiian government and people that their government and institutions are feeble and precarious, that the United States, being so near a neighbor, would be unwilling to see the Islands pass under foreign control. Their prosperity is continually disturbed by expectations and alarms of unfriendly political proceedings as well from the United States as from other foreign powers. A reciprocity treaty, while it could not materially diminish the revenues of the United States, would be a guarantee of the good will and forbearance of all nations until the people of the Islands shall of themselves, at no distant day, voluntarily apply for admission into the Union.

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

The influences which caused the delay in action upon, and the final rejection of the convention — which event did not occur until June 1, 1870, President Johnson having then been succeeded in office by President Grant — cannot, perhaps, be successfully traced. Discussions upon the subject of the ratification of treaties are invariably held by the Senate in executive session. The historical student, however, will not forget the strong feeling of opposition which existed in the Thirty-ninth Congress toward President Johnson, culminating in his impeachment. It is not wholly impossible that his earnest advocacy of the measure of commercial reciprocity with the Hawaiian Islands may have had a potent influence in affecting the action of the Senate in regard to the matter, although two years had passed, a new Congress had assembled, and a new President had assumed control of affairs.

It is remembered that, early in the administration of President Grant, propositions looking to the acquisition of the Danish West India Islands and of the island of San Domingo were brought prominently before



## HAWAIIAN COMMERCE

Congress, and were finally defeated, mainly through the earnest opposition of Senator Sumner. It is not improbable that this sentiment of opposition to annexation of insular territory produced its influence upon the minds of the senators, in the consideration also of the Hawaiian treaty of reciprocity.

In the autumn of 1874 the movement toward the establishment of closer commercial relations between the two countries by the negotiation of a treaty of reciprocity was again renewed. In this movement King Kalakaua in person assumed an important rôle. With the purpose of attracting popular attention to and interest in the Hawaiian Islands, he visited the United States, brought here by the United States steamship *Benicia*. Before leaving Hawaii, the king had appointed Elisha H. Allen and Henry A. P. Carter as commissioners to negotiate for reciprocity. In this mission they were successful; and the treaty was signed at Washington January 30, 1875. Some of its features, relating to customs dues, required the ratification of both houses of Congress; but

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

this was successfully accomplished. The treaty was ratified by the President of the United States May 31, 1875, by the King of Hawaii April 17, 1875, and was announced by formal proclamation June 3, 1875.

In this instrument it was agreed that a certain schedule of products of the Islands, including unrefined sugars, should be admitted into the United States free of duty: certain products and manufactured articles were, in return, to be admitted free of duty into the Hawaiian Islands from ports of the United States; and the agreements were made on the part of the king that he would not, so long as the treaty should remain in force, lease or otherwise dispose of or create a lien upon any port, harbor, or other territory in his dominions, or grant any special privilege or rights of use therein to any power, State, or government, nor make any treaty by which any other nation should obtain the same privileges, relative to the admission of articles free of duty, thereby secured to the United States. The treaty also provided for its continuance for seven years from the promulgation thereof; and

## HAWAIIAN COMMERCE

it was added that, after the expiration of the term of seven years, it might be terminated by either party thereto, twelve months' notice of a desire to abrogate first being given, otherwise to continue in force. All of the provisions of the treaty having been fulfilled, it went into final operation on September 9, 1875.

Its terms were sufficiently broad to create practically a free trade between the United States and the Hawaiian Islands. On the part of the former, practically, the entire agricultural product of the Islands was admitted to our ports free of duty; for by this time the production of sugar had become by far the chief industry of the Islands, overshadowing all others. On the part of the island government its ports were opened to the admission, from the United States, of nearly every article of domestic consumption. The list of articles thus admitted free of duty is extremely long, and includes all textile fabrics, and manufactures of iron, copper, wood, paper, and leather, agricultural implements, meats, bread-stuffs, naval stores, and lumber.

Protests were at once made by the British

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

government to the King of the Hawaiian Islands, the claim being made that the clause of the treaty by which certain exclusive commercial privileges were granted to the United States was in contravention of the Anglo-Hawaiian treaty of 1852, which contained the "most favored nation" clause. This contention continued for several years, the complication resulting at length in the feeling that Great Britain might resort to coercion to accomplish the desired end. On June 30, 1881, James G. Blaine, then Secretary of State, in reply to a despatch of our minister, Hon. James M. Comly, setting forth in detail the situation of affairs then existing, showed in unmistakable language the impossibility of a grant by the Hawaiian government of any of the privileges exclusively given to the United States by the treaty of 1875 without a violation of that treaty. Mr. Blaine added these significant words, which served to end the dispute : —

You will add that, if any other power should deem it proper to employ undue influence upon the Hawaiian government to persuade or compel action in derogation of this treaty, the government of the United

## HAWAIIAN COMMERCE

States will not be unobservant of its rights and interests, and will be neither unwilling nor unprepared to support the Hawaiian government in the faithful discharge of its treaty obligations.

At the expiration of the seven years' duration of this treaty of reciprocity, negotiations were opened for another treaty of similar import, so far as its main provisions were concerned. This was effected December 6, 1884, by a convention in which the treaty of 1875 was renewed for the further period of seven years; and, further, the King of the Hawaiian Islands granted to the United States the exclusive right to enter Pearl River, in the island of Oahu, and to establish there a coal-ing and repair station for the use of vessels of the United States. The ratification of this extension of the treaty was strenuously opposed by the sugar-refining interests of the United States and by Great Britain, that government contending that the granting of exclusive privileges in Pearl Harbor was in contravention of the Anglo-Hawaiian treaty, and "would infallibly lead to the loss of the independence of the Islands." The opposition from both these sources was at length

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

overcome; and the convention was finally ratified and proclaimed in November, 1887. This treaty was allowed to continue as it stood at the expiration of its term, no notice, since the close of its seven years of limitation, having been made looking toward that end. In the Fifty-fourth Congress, however, an earnest effort was made by a formidable party, apparently in the interest of the American sugar refiners, to secure abrogation; but the effort was unsuccessful, and the treaty, at the time of the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands to the territory of the United States in July, 1898, remained in full force.

## CHAPTER IV.

### DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BEGUN.

THE point of time at which the attention of the government of the United States was drawn to the Hawaiian Islands, and to the increasing interests of its citizens there, was almost exactly coeval with the establishment in the Islands of the American missions. The rapidly increasing commerce with the Islands, and the practical establishment there of a depot for supplies for whale-ships, and for transshipment of the product of those fisheries to home ports, had served to give America an important stake in the mid-Pacific, which our government recognized and prepared itself to preserve. On September 19, 1820, John C. Jones was appointed by President Monroe to be "Agent of the United States for Commerce and Seamen" at the Hawaiian Islands. This office was practically that of consul, for to the duties of agent was added a general supervision of American interests in the Islands. Reports were made to the Department of State at Washington, from time to time, of matters touching American interests; and, at irregu-

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

lar intervals, reports were received from commanders of naval vessels of the United States, which occasionally touched at the Islands for fresh supplies and other purposes.

In the autumn of 1823 the king, Liholiho, determined that he would go forth from his island kingdom, and see something of the great world of which he had been told so much. In October of that year, in company with his queen, Kamamalu, and attended by a retinue, he set sail in the English ship *L'Aigle*. His view of his native islands as they faded from his sight beyond the horizon was his last.

In May, 1824, the royal party landed in England; and their majesties were treated with great consideration by George IV. A sudden and severe attack of measles seized both king and queen, and in July of the same year the deaths of both occurred. Their bodies were enclosed in coffins of lead, encased in wood, and covered with crimson velvet, and conveyed to their island home in the frigate *Blonde*, commanded by Lord Byron, a cousin of the poet.

The younger brother of Liholiho, named



## DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BEGUN

Kauikeaouli, then eleven years of age, succeeded to the throne, in accordance with the will of the late king, prudently executed just before his departure from home. The executive authority, however, was to rest for a time in the hands of the dowager queen, Kaahumanu, second in rank in the kingdom, and Kalaimoku, otherwise known as "William Pitt," the prime minister. After a few years, however, Kauikeaouli assumed full authority in the kingdom, under the title of Kamehameha III. It was during the period of his guardianship that the first formal visit was made to these Islands of a naval vessel flying the American flag. This was the United States steamship *Peacock*, Captain Thomas ap Catesby Jones, which dropped anchor in the harbor of Honolulu in the year 1826. This call of the *Peacock* was in pursuance of instructions received in May, 1825, by Commodore Hull, then in command of the Pacific squadron. The instructions from Washington, which were received by him at Callao, Peru, were to the effect that a naval vessel should proceed to Honolulu on a visit of friendly inspection, to re-

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

lieve the native authorities of the annoyance occasioned by deserters from American vessels in the Islands, and to endeavor to adjust certain claims of American citizens there residing. The objects of this visit were successfully accomplished; and Captain Jones negotiated a treaty of friendship, commerce, and navigation with the king, which was signed on the twenty-third day of December, 1826. This was the first treaty executed by the Hawaiians with any foreign power.

The convention was a simple document, of only seven articles. In it the peace and friendship existing between the United States and Kauikeaouli, King of the Hawaiian Islands, and his guardians were declared to be perpetual; agreement was made to protect vessels and citizens of the United States, within the island jurisdiction in time of war, against all enemies of the United States; commerce and trade between the two countries was to be fostered; shipwrecked vessels of the United States, with their crews and cargoes, were to be properly cared for; citizens of the United States engaged in trade and commerce in the Islands

## DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BEGUN

were to be protected in their lawful pursuits, and have the privilege of suing in the courts of the kingdom; all practicable means were to be taken to prevent desertion at the Islands from American vessels, and rewards were agreed upon for the return of such deserters to their vessels; and the "most favored nation" clause, as used in treaties, relating to import duties, was inserted. The treaty bore the signatures of Captain Jones; Elisabeta Kaahumanu; Kalaimoku; Boki, governor of Oahu and personal guardian of the king; Hoapili, guardian of Nahienaena, sister of the king; and Lida Namahana, a dowager queen of Kamehameha I.

This agreement, curiously enough, was never ratified by the Senate; but its provisions have formed the groundwork of the friendly relations which have since existed between our government and that of the Islands. The visits of American trading vessels to the island ports continued frequent.

In the year 1825, such had been the advancement of the island people in civilization and Christian morals, an official edict of the chiefs was promulgated (as referred

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

to in a previous chapter), forbidding women to visit vessels in harbors, for immoral purposes. It is a sad commentary upon human character that this attempt of a people who were struggling forward toward the light of civilization should have met with serious opposition from those who were supposed to have received all the blessings of enlightenment. Attacks were made by crews of vessels upon the dwellings of missionaries, and the strongest influence was brought to bear upon the chiefs to induce them to rescind this edict. At this juncture, in January, 1826, the United States schooner *Dolphin*, commanded by Lieutenant John Percival, entered the harbor, and remained for some weeks. In February, members of the crew of the *Dolphin*, armed with clubs, made an assault upon the house of a native chief during the progress there of divine worship. Demanding the abrogation of the regulation, they threatened the destruction of the house, if compliance was not made with their wishes. A *mêlée* ensued, in which some of the combatants were injured. Lieutenant Percival himself espoused the cause of

## DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BEGUN

his men, and by threats induced the chiefs to recede from their position.

In the year 1829 the United States steamship *Vincennes*, Captain Finch, paid an official visit to the Islands. Captain Finch was the bearer of a number of costly gifts to the king, queen, and chiefs, and of a letter from President Jackson's Secretary of the Navy. In this letter the desire of the government of the United States to maintain friendly relations with the Islands was expressed in these words :—

The President anxiously hopes that peace and kindness and justice will prevail between your people and those citizens of the United States who visit your Islands, and that the regulations of your government will be such as to enforce them upon all. Our citizens who violate your laws, or interfere with your regulations, violate at the same time their duty to their own government and country, and merit censure and punishment.

In the words last quoted it would appear evident that information of the act of Lieutenant Percival had reached the ear of the President, and that he desired to disavow it. The instructions to Captain Finch were to

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

“remain from two to three weeks, or as long as shall be thought expedient for careful cultivation of the most friendly relations, and to procure from our consular and commercial agent, or from other sources, every information respecting our commercial and other relations that may be practicable.”

Two years later than this, in the year 1831, an episode in Hawaiian history occurred which required, for the first time, the friendly intervention of United States naval representatives in its affairs. This is an episode which, in its relation, is liable to misconstruction and misconception, and in which both of the parties to the controversy were doubtless open to more or less criticism. The occasion was a breaking forth afresh of ancient antagonism of religious sects. The appointment of a commercial agent of the United States at the Hawaiian Islands had been closely followed by the appointment by the British crown of Richard Charleton to the position of consul-general to Hawaii and the Society Islands. Almost immediately upon his arrival Charleton manifested an open antagonism to the American mission-

## DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BEGUN

aries and their work, although this opposition would appear to have been extended not so much against their religious as against their civil influence in the Islands. "He foresaw that American missionaries, if successful, would introduce republican principles, and the tone of the people would tend toward that nation. English influence would gradually be absorbed, and in time the Islands become an appendage to the Great Republic. American commerce and settlers were by far the most numerous, and both yearly increasing. To a mind like his, no more powerful motive for an attempt to frustrate their growing prosperity could have existed. Availing himself of the discordant elements about him, he managed, by exciting their cupidity, sensualism, and fear of religious intolerance, to combine into one party the classes opposed to missionary endeavor. . . . Failing in defeating the progress of the American mission, at this period, he proclaimed it his intention to divide the nation, and create a rival religion, by the introduction of English Roman Catholic priests. Such was the state of affairs at the visit of Captain Jones." \*

\* Jarves, 269.

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

This threat of Charleton was to be made good in a manner which he himself had not expected nor planned. There was in the Islands a Frenchman of uncertain antecedents and doubtful character, called John Rives. This man had been constant in his opposition to the work of the missionaries, and was known to be trying to influence the chiefs against them with the object of lessening and, if possible, destroying their influence. He had "occupied the offices of cook, bootblack, secretary, and boon companion, as the inclination of the king permitted." \*

While the preparations were in progress for the departure of the king and his suite for their journey to Europe, Rives earnestly besought his master for permission to accompany the royal party. Liholiho, being well aware of the character of the man, refused his consent; but Rives, whether or not by connivance with the captain, contrived to secrete himself on board the vessel which was to convey the royal party. After the vessel was well away at sea, the graceless stowaway made his presence known; and the

\* Jarves, 221.



## DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BEGUN

king had no choice but to allow him to accompany the party. The result was disastrous. During the voyage, by the influence of Rives, the king suffered a relapse into habits of gambling and intoxication which had formerly beset him. On the arrival of *L'Aigle* at Portsmouth the cash-chest of the king, which was known to have contained the sum of twenty-five thousand dollars at the beginning of the voyage, was forwarded to the Bank of England, and there opened. It was discovered that only ten thousand dollars remained. Of the balance no account was made, save a bill of three thousand dollars presented by Captain Starbuck of *L'Aigle*, alleged to cover certain expenses incurred during a brief stop at Rio Janeiro. Rives, who was acquainted with the Hawaiian language as well as with English, was for a time utilized as interpreter on the king's tour; but he was soon dismissed, various acts of ill-behavior, which reflected seriously upon the character of the party, being alleged against him. This dismissal, the death of the king and queen which followed soon after, and the

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

departure of the party upon the return voyage combined to sever the connections of Rives with the royal train. He at once went to France, his native country, and there attracted attention by his stories of adventures in foreign parts, his intimate relations with the late king of the scarcely known islands of the Pacific, and his descriptions of the fabulous riches and boundless resources of that country. He obtained on credit a large quantity of goods for shipment to the Islands, for the purpose of trade; and he advertised for artisans and priests to go out under his patronage to instruct the natives in the useful arts and industries and in the precepts of religion.

In July, 1826, Rev. John Alexius Bachelot, a Jesuit priest, was appointed by Pope Leo XII to be apostolic prefect of the Islands. In company with a number of artisans and seven priests, Father Bachelot set sail for his place of labor. Church ornaments to the value of several thousand dollars, which had been purchased by Rives himself, were sent in the same ship, the dealers from whom they were purchased

## DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BEGUN

being promised payment upon the arrival of the vessel at Honolulu. Similar promises were made in regard to the passage money for conveyance of the priests and artisans. These promises were not fulfilled; for Rives, taking passage in another ship, did not return to the Islands, and his fate is not known.

There is no record of the events which followed which in any manner reflect upon the personal character or the sincerity of Father Bachelot and his coadjutors in the effort to propagate the faith of the Roman Catholic Church among the people of the Islands. They were quite as earnest and sincere in their devotion to what they regarded as duty as were the Protestant missionaries. The latter, however, remembered that they had been the pioneers and had been laboring in the field for eight years. They thought, too, that the new arrivals might rather have turned their attention to many islands of the South Seas where no attempt had yet been made to carry the Christian faith. It would not be entirely unnatural, then, that the Protestant mission-

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

aries should regard the Jesuits somewhat in the light of interlopers in a field which they had fairly pre-empted. The Protestants, however, so far from openly opposing the coming of the Romanists and hindering their work, supplied them with copies of the books which they themselves had prepared in Hawaiian, that the new-comers might become acquainted with the language.

The new element, however, was, as might be expected, productive of discord. New Englanders at that time had not learned all the lessons of tolerance. Had the Jesuit missionaries entered upon a wholly new field, they would, without doubt, have found comparatively little difficulty in planting their faith in a virgin soil; but the natives themselves, and especially many of the chiefs, resented the attempt to introduce a second new religion, and acrimonious controversy ensued. The government of the Islands was arrayed upon the side of the Protestant missionaries, whom the chiefs regarded as their first and their firmest friends. At length, in April, 1831, a decree of banishment of the Jesuits was made; but it was not until December of

## DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BEGUN

that year that they were actually deported, and they went to join the Spanish priests of San Gabriel Mission, in Southern California.

By the removal of the priests the effects of their teachings were not eradicated. A considerable influence had been exerted by them among the common people of the native population, some of whom had embraced the faith which the priests had taught. In the minds of the chiefs, who were, of course, as yet but slightly educated, and with imperfect mental training, there was little difference between the images and pictures which the Roman priests had displayed as representations of sacred things and those images which they themselves had once regarded as gods. The distinction between the prescribed fasts of the Church and the now discarded system of *tabus* was beyond their comprehension. The Protestant missionaries — if, indeed, they themselves considered the matter with sufficient candor to perceive the distinction — were probably not altogether unwilling that their pupils should regard the matter in the manner best suited to their intellects.

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

However these things may be, the visit of the United States frigate *Potomac*, Commodore Downes, in August, 1832, served, to some extent, to lessen the severity of what, just at that time, was bordering closely upon religious persecution. The attitude of the Hawaiian government toward those professing the Roman faith was not fully relaxed, however, until July, 1839. At that time a convention, securing to those people entire freedom for Roman Catholic worship in the Islands, and allowing the return of the priests of that faith, was forced from the king, Kamehameha III, under the guns of the French frigate *Artémise*, commanded by Captain Laplace. A second treaty was concluded at the same time, under the same circumstances, and after a threat of hostilities in case of the refusal of the signature of the king. Under the provisions of this treaty the introduction of intoxicating liquors into the Islands was allowed. During these negotiations the American consul was formally notified by Captain Laplace that the American Protestant clergy would be regarded as a part of the native population,

## DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BEGUN

should hostilities be begun, as the result of a refusal of the king to accede to his demands.

Three years previous to this dramatic visit of *L'Artémise* the British consul, Mr. Charleton, whose attitude toward Americans and American influence in the Islands has been noted,\* by his representations to his home government had procured a visit to the Islands from the British ship *Actæon*, under command of Lord Edward Russel. In November, 1836, while the guns of the *Actæon* were commanding the town of Honolulu, the king was induced to conclude a treaty with her commander in behalf of the British government. This treaty contained no objectionable features, and was, in its terms, merely for the protection of the persons and property of British subjects residing in the Islands. At about the time of the intervention of *L'Artémise* and Captain Laplace, Mr. Charleton left the Islands, it is quite fair to believe, for the purpose of informing his government of the condition of affairs, both as touching the growing American influence in the Islands and the attitude

\* *Ante*, page 60.

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

assumed by Louis Philippe. That this convention forced from the king by Lord Edward Russel was to be regarded as the initial movement preparatory to serious aggressions against the sovereignty of the Islands is made probable almost to a certainty from the occurrence of a few years later.



## CHAPTER V.

### THE PAULET EPISODE.

It was in February, 1843, that an incident occurred in the history of the Hawaiian Islands which gave occasion for the first open and official declaration of paramount American interest and influence. This was the unannounced arrival, in the harbor of Honolulu, of the British frigate *Carysfort*, commanded by Captain Lord George Paulet, and the remarkable proceedings which followed. A few weeks previous to this occurrence two commissioners despatched by King Kamehameha III had arrived at Washington. These were Timoteo Haalilio and William Richards, the first a member of the King's suite, the latter a clergyman. Mr. Richards had previously, in the year 1836, been sent to this country as an envoy, to secure, if possible, some American versed in statecraft, as adviser and instructor to the king in the duties of his position. This mission had been unsuccessful. The two had now come, as appears by a letter addressed to Daniel Webster, Secretary of State, under date of December 14, 1842, for the purpose of call-

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

ing the attention of that official, and through him of the government of the United States, to the relations then existing between the two countries, and to suggest a more definite recognition of the Hawaiian government as an independent civilized power. In this letter is set forth, in interesting detail, the story of the rise of the Hawaiian people from a state of barbarism and degradation to one deserving of the respect and recognition of the civilized nations of the world.

"Twenty-three years ago," this letter states, "the nation had no written language and no character in which to write it. The language had never been systematized nor reduced to any kind of form. The people had no acquaintance with Christianity, nor with the valuable institutions or usages of civilized life. The nation had no fixed form or regulations of government, except as they were dictated by those in authority or might by any means acquire power. The right of property was not acknowledged, and was, therefore, but partially enjoyed. There were no courts of justice, and the will of the chieftains was absolute. The property of

## THE PAULET EPISODE

foreigners had no protection except in the kind disposition of individuals. But, under the fostering influence, patronage, and care of His Majesty and of his predecessors, the language has been reduced to visible and systematized form, and is now written by a large and respectable portion of the people. Schools have been established throughout his dominions and are supported principally by the government; and there are but few, among the younger people, who are unable to read. They have now, in their own language, a library embracing a considerable variety of books on a variety of subjects, including the Holy Scriptures, works on natural history, civil history, church history, geography, political economy, mathematics, and statute law, besides a number of elementary books. A regular monarchical government has been organized, of a limited and representative character. . . . It has, moreover, been the uniform practice of consuls and commercial agents, resident in His Majesty's dominions, to demand all that protection, both of persons and property, which is demanded of sovereign and independent States;

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

and this, His Majesty believes, has been duly and efficiently extended. While, therefore, all is demanded of his government, and all is rendered by it which is demanded of or rendered by the governments of sovereign and independent States, he feels that he has a right to expect his State to be acknowledged as such, and thus be formally received into the general compact of sovereign nations."

Continuing, the commissioners call attention to the situation of the Hawaiian Islands, and to the frequency with which whaling and merchant vessels call at their ports for the purpose of obtaining supplies and of trading; and declare that at the time of writing no fewer than fourteen hundred American citizens are resident at the Islands, representing property valued at not less than three or four million dollars.

This letter was made the subject of a special message to Congress by President Tyler, in which he said:—

"It cannot but be in conformity with the interest and wishes of the government and the people of the United States that this community, thus existing in the midst of a

## THE PAULET EPISODE

vast expanse of ocean, should be respected, and all its rights strictly and conscientiously regarded. And this must also be the true interest of all other commercial States. Far remote from the dominions of European powers, its growth and prosperity as an independent State may yet be in a high degree useful to all whose trade is extended to those regions ; while its near approach to this continent, and the intercourse which American vessels have with it,—such vessels constituting five-sixths of all which annually visit it,—could not but create dissatisfaction on the part of the United States at any attempt by another power, should such attempt be threatened or feared, to take possession of the Islands, colonize them, and subvert the native government. Considering, therefore, that the United States possesses so very large a share of the intercourse with those Islands, it is deemed not unfit to make the declaration that their government seeks nevertheless no peculiar advantages, no exclusive control, over the Hawaiian government, but is content with its independent existence, and anxiously wishes for its security and

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

prosperity. Its forbearance in this respect, under the circumstances of the very large intercourse of their citizens with the Islands, would justify the government, should events hereafter arise to require it, in making a decided remonstrance against the adoption of an opposite policy by any other power."

Secretary of State Webster, in replying to the letter of the commissioners, said that "the United States are more interested in the fate of the Islands and of their government than any nation can be; and this consideration induces the President to be quite willing to declare as the sense of the government of the United States that the government of the Sandwich Islands ought to be respected, that no power ought either to take possession of the Islands as a conquest or for the purpose of colonization, and that no power ought to seek for any undue control over the existing government or any exclusive privileges or preferences in matters of commerce."

The implied promise thus made, to protect the government of the Islands against the aggressions of any foreign power, was very soon to be put to the test, in the Lord

## THE PAULET EPISODE

George Paulet incident, to which allusion has been made. The somewhat sudden departure from the Islands of the British consul, Mr. Charlton, has already been mentioned. It appears that his relations with members of the Hawaiian government had for a long time been far from cordial. In a law-suit, certain lands, the title to which was in his name, had been attached. In this suit Charlton was worsted. No effort was made, however, to take out execution against the lands attached, the government fearing that such a process might be construed into an infringement on the privileges claimed by official representatives of foreign powers. Mr. Charlton had not, therefore, suffered any pecuniary loss, the sheriff having merely given public notice that no transfer of the title to the lands might be made. It was the claim that the right of a British subject had been infringed, which caused this unfriendly visit of the *Carysfort*.

On the eleventh day of February, 1843, Lord George Paulet, having dropped anchor in the harbor, sent a peremptory message to Kekuanoa, governor of the island Oahu, on

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

which is the city of Honolulu, demanding an audience with the king in person, and claiming that British subjects had received repeated insults from the government. Five days later the king, having come to Honolulu from his estate on the island Maui, was addressed in person by Paulet, again demanding an interview. The king sent to him his representative, Dr. George P. Judd; but the envoy was refused, in almost insulting terms, and written demands were made upon the king, coupled with a threat of coercive measures in case compliance should be refused. This threat was in these terms :—

*Sir*,—I have the honor to notify you that Her Britannic Majesty's ship, *Carysfort*, under my command, will be prepared to make an immediate attack upon this town at 4 P.M. to-morrow (Saturday) in the event of the demands now forwarded by me to the King of these Islands not being complied with by this time.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

GEORGE PAULET,  
*Captain.*

The demands thus peremptorily made included the removal of the attachment from



## THE PAULET EPISODE

the land of Mr. Charlton and reparation to that gentleman for his alleged loss ; the acknowledgment of one Alexander Simpson as acting consul, a man who had been appointed to that position by Charlton on his own withdrawal from the Islands, and whose appointment the king had not acknowledged ; a guarantee that no British subject should in future be put in irons, unless accused of a crime which by the laws of England would be regarded as a felony ; the granting of a new trial to one Henry Skinner, a British subject, who also had complained of unfair treatment at the hands of the courts of the kingdom ; the trial of all causes involving British subjects by juries, one-half of which to be British subjects approved by the consul.

The injustice of the most of these demands is manifest, and the threat with which they were accompanied cannot be justified. The king was plunged into perplexities and difficulties from which he saw no ready or honorable way of escape. He had no means of successful defence from the armed assault which was threatened, and he

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

had no reason to believe that the threat would not be carried into execution. A large number of American lives and much American property were placed in jeopardy, and were liable to destruction. A cession of his dominions to Great Britain, therefore, appeared to the king to be his only escape. Such a cession was accordingly executed, but with the reservation that it should be subject to any arrangement that might be entered into by commissioners to be appointed to lay the matter before Her Majesty's government.

Lord George Paulet accepted the cession, and appointed a commission for the government of the Islands in which the king or his representative was to have a seat. The remaining members were, of course, British subjects. The British flag was raised over the Islands. The king soon withdrew from this commission by reason of acts adopted of which he disapproved, and the remaining members continued the exercise of sovereignty. Among their acts was the creation of a regiment of troops, to which was given the name of the "Queen's Own," which were

## THE PAULET EPISODE

armed and equipped at the expense of the Hawaiian treasury. The officers were required to take an oath of allegiance to the queen.

This condition of affairs could not long continue. The king at once, upon executing the forced cession of his dominions, addressed a communication to President Tyler, setting forth in detail the acts of the British naval captain, protesting against their injustice, and begging that he would "interpose the high influence of the United States with the Court of England," to the end that an impartial hearing might be granted, and that Her British Majesty might withdraw from the sovereignty of the Islands.

This appeal was not in vain; and, indeed, after the assurances so recently given, President Tyler could not refuse so reasonable a request. The matter was at once laid before the British government, not only by commissioners despatched to London by the king, but also by Hon. Edward Everett, minister of the United States to Great Britain. At about the same time that the *Carysfort* entered the harbor of Honolulu, bearing the de-

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

mands of Lord George Paulet, Mr. Webster, in view of the recent French aggressions in the Islands and the reports concerning the attitude of Charlton, had addressed to Mr. Everett a note, calling his attention to the acknowledgment of the independence of the Islands in the President's message to Congress, already quoted, and stating that the President "would exceedingly regret that suspicion of a sinister purpose of any kind on the part of the United States should prevent England and France from adopting the same pacific, just, and conservative course toward the government and people of this remote but interesting group of Islands." In reply to this Mr. Everett had informed Mr. Webster that Lord Aberdeen had signified in behalf of the British government that the independence of the Islands would be distinctly recognized, and that the intimation had been made to the French ambassador at London that England could not agree to any encroachments on the Sandwich Islands. To this the ambassador had replied that none were contemplated by France.

The intelligence that these Islands had

## THE PAULET EPISODE

been seized by Lord George Paulet, in behalf of the British crown, was, in view of these recent assertions and assurances, received in London with no little consternation. It had placed Great Britain in the position of having acted in apparent bad faith, and the matter was at once given the serious attention of the government. The act of Lord George Paulet was distinctly disavowed, both to the Hawaiian commissioners, who had by this time arrived at London and presented their protest, and to Mr. Everett. Some hesitation was at first felt by the British government in promptly disclaiming sovereignty over the Islands, for the reason that France had recently made a seizure of and established a sovereignty over the Marquesas group of islands; and it was feared that similar movements were contemplated against the Hawaiian Islands. Indeed, it was reported that a French squadron was on its way to the Islands, for the purpose of making a seizure of them, at the very time when the *Carysfort* entered the harbor of Honolulu. On the twenty-eighth day of November, 1843, a convention was entered into between the Queen

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

of Great Britain and the King of France, in which the two nations mutually agreed "to consider the Sandwich Islands as an independent State, and never to take possession, either directly or under the title of protectorate, or under any other form, of any part of the territory of which they are composed."

Unaware of the proceedings at London, and desirous of preserving the interests of the United States in the Islands, Commodore Kearney, U.S.N., who reached the Islands on the United States frigate *Constellation*, July 11, 1843, made a formal protest against the king's deed of cession. This prudent and patriotic act was, however, needless, as was soon after proved. On the twenty-sixth day of July the British ship *Dublin*, conveying Rear-Admiral Thomas of the British Navy, entered the harbor. This officer brought the agreeable news that the act of Lord George Paulet had been disavowed, and the deed of cession repudiated; and by open declaration he announced that "he does not accept of the provisional cession of the Hawaiian Islands, made on the twenty-fifth day of February, 1843, but that he considers

## THE PAULET EPISODE

His Majesty Kamehameha III the legitimate king of those Islands; and he assures His Majesty that the sentiments of his sovereign toward him are those of unvarying friendship and esteem, that Her Majesty sincerely desires King Kamehameha to be treated as an independent sovereign, leaving the administration of justice in his own hands, the faithful discharge of which will promote his happiness and the prosperity of his dominions."

The flag of the Hawaiian monarchy was then restored to its place, the British flag removed, and the episode ended, the most momentous in its political bearings of those in which the young nation in the Pacific had yet been involved.

## CHAPTER VI.

### FOREIGN AGGRESSIONS

THE message of President Tyler, conceding the independence of the island government, contained also a recommendation to Congress "to provide for a moderate allowance to be made out of the Treasury to the consul residing there, that in a government so new and a country so remote American citizens may have respectable authority to which to apply for redress in case of injury to their persons and property, and to whom the government of the country may also make known any acts committed by American citizens of which it may think it has a right to complain. This recommendation was adopted and provision made for the compensation of a diplomatic officer; and on March 3, 1843, Mr. George Brown, of Massachusetts, was appointed commissioner. In the following October Mr. Brown arrived at his post, and presented his credentials to the king in a formal address, no doubt the first ceremony of the kind in which the Hawaiian king had ever taken part; for, although the government of the United States had been represented



## FOREIGN AGGRESSIONS

there by an "agent for commerce and seamen" as early as the year 1820, it is not probable that he assumed any diplomatic functions or that he was formally presented to the king. Mr. Brown, in addressing the king, assured him that it was the wish of the government to which he was accredited that the independence of the Hawaiian territory should be scrupulously maintained, and that the friendly relations existing between the two governments should be even more closely cemented. "You may assure your government," said His Majesty in reply, "that I shall always consider the citizens of the United States as entitled to equal privileges with those of the most favored nation."

The significance of this utterance, in view of the absence of any formal treaty relations between the two countries, is important; and it was not forgotten when, a brief period later, the sincerity of the king in making it was put to a serious test. An American citizen, one John Wiley, who had been arrested upon charge of some crime or misdemeanor, and to whom a trial by a jury of foreign residents was denied by the local

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

governor, appealed to Mr. Brown for redress. The Laplace treaty had provided that "no Frenchman accused of any crime whatever shall be judged otherwise than by a jury composed of foreign residents, proposed by the consul of France, and accepted by the government of the Sandwich Islands." Wiley submitted to his trial by a jury composed half of Hawaiian natives and half of foreigners, as the statute law required, but took an appeal from the judgment of the court which was averse to him. While the appeal was pending, on the twelfth day of February, 1844, a treaty was concluded between the government of the Hawaiian Islands and that of Great Britain, in which was embodied a provision identical with that of the French treaty just quoted. On the day set for the hearing of the Wiley case, on appeal, Mr. William Hooper, who was the acting consular agent, appeared in court, and claimed for Wiley the same privilege as that granted by treaty to British subjects charged with crime. This protest was denied upon the ground that no treaty provisions to that effect were in existence with the government of the United

## FOREIGN AGGRESSIONS

States. The position taken by Mr. Brown was approved by President Tyler; but, nevertheless, strained relations were created by the incident, which were intensified by a protest made by Mr. Brown against the terms of the British treaty as discriminating against the United States. The king, therefore, asked the recall of Mr. Brown, with which request the government of the United States complied; and Mr. A. Ten Eyck was appointed in his place.

This gentleman, unfortunately, did not succeed in making himself thoroughly acceptable to the Hawaiian government throughout his term of service. In March, 1846, new treaties were concluded between the Hawaiian government and those of Great Britain and France. These were similar in terms, but were, in some respects, modifications of the former treaties. In these conventions the stipulation as to the admission of French wines and brandies was modified; and, more important than this, from a political point of view, the stipulation regarding the composition of juries in trials of British and French residents were essentially changed. By the

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

new agreements thus entered into, citizens of these countries might be tried by mixed juries of natives and of foreign residents proposed by the consul and accepted by the Hawaiian government. The instructions to Mr. Ten Eyck had included a charge to negotiate a treaty, upon the basis of the British treaty existing at the time of his appointment. Notwithstanding the recent modifications of this treaty, Mr. Ten Eyck insisted upon the construction of an Hawaiian-American treaty upon the former basis. Notwithstanding that the unwisdom of this contention was pointed out to him by James Buchanan, then Secretary of State, Mr. Ten Eyck appears to have insisted upon his point, until the relations of the Hawaiian government toward his own were upon the point of rupture. Fortunately, Mr. Ten Eyck resigned his office in September, 1848. He wrote a caustic letter, in which the administration of President Polk was roundly scored for its alleged neglect and abuse of him, and Mr. Buchanan was charged with having sacrificed the writer "in the vain hope of advancing his own political interests with the

## FOREIGN AGGRESSIONS

American Board of Foreign Missions, and of securing himself from the just charge of neglect and inattention to his public duties in connection with this legation."

Although Mr. Ten Eyck resigned his office in September, 1848, he appears to have lingered at the Islands a full year, awaiting the arrival of his successor. In the mean time the government at Washington appears to have ignored Mr. Ten Eyck. The consul, Mr. J. Turrill, seems to have been the officially recognized representative of the United States at Honolulu in this interim; and the formal correspondence with the Department of State was conducted by him. On the third of September, 1849, the letter attacking President Polk's administration, and, in particular, Mr. Buchanan, was forwarded by Mr. Ten Eyck, and with it a letter written August 31, containing a piece of startling and important information. At the same time a similar communication was forwarded to the Department of State by Consul Turrill.

These communications conveyed to the government the news that on the thirteenth

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

day of August the French frigate *La Pour-suivante* had entered the harbor of Honolulu, followed, a day later, by the French steamer *Gassendi*, and that a few days later a series of peremptory demands had been made upon the Hawaiian government by the French Rear-Admiral Tromelin on the pretext that provisions of the Franco-Hawaiian treaty had been wantonly broken. These demands were coupled with threats of coercive measures, if the demands were not conceded by the king.

The consul of the United States was formally notified by the French admiral of these proceedings, with the assurance that the French republic neither looked to an occupation nor a protectorate of the Hawaiian archipelago, but only to a reparation of grievances. He added that, in the event of actual hostilities becoming necessary, the property of Americans would be respected.

Consul Turrill, in reply to this note, made a formal protest against the proceedings; and in this protest he was joined by the consuls of Great Britain and of the lesser powers officially represented in the Islands. Not-

## FOREIGN AGGRESSIONS

withstanding these protests, Admiral Tromelin, the king having failed to comply with his demands, on the twenty-fifth of August, landed a force of French marines, and took forcible possession of the fort, the custom-house, and another government building, as well as of a considerable amount of shipping flying the Hawaiian flag, including a schooner belonging to the government. The French forces retained possession of the seized buildings and property for five days, and meantime destroyed public property to a considerable amount. They refrained, however, from lowering the Hawaiian colors or raising those of France, the admiral being doubtless deterred from this step by his knowledge of the existence of the Anglo-French convention of November, 1843.

The king offered no resistance to this forcible occupation, but through Consul Turrill informed the government of the United States of this fresh aggression and the demands made upon him by the French Republic, and for the second time invoked the good offices of the Great Republic in the maintenance of his sovereignty. His Majesty

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

appointed James Jackson Jarves a special commissioner to procure the friendly mediation of the President of the United States with the government of France. Should the President accept the mediation and be accepted by the French government in that capacity, the king engaged to be bound by his decision or by that of the British government, the two acting singly or jointly.

President Fillmore, wishing to maintain the bond of sympathy which existed between the two countries, readily agreed to employ his good offices. George R. Judd was later associated with Mr. Jarves as an additional commissioner to procure the friendly intervention of the United States and Great Britain, and to urge the adoption of treaties by England and France, similar in their terms to that which had, just at this juncture, been negotiated between the United States and Hawaii.

In a communication to the minister of the United States at Paris, Hon. William C. Rives, the Secretary of State, Hon. John M. Clayton, wrote :—

“The Department will be slow to believe



## FOREIGN AGGRESSIONS

that the French have any intention to adopt, with reference to the Sandwich Islands, the same policy which they have pursued in regard to Tahiti. If, however, in your judgment it should be warranted by circumstances, you may take a proper opportunity to intimate to the minister for foreign affairs of France that the situation of the Sandwich Islands, in respect to our possessions on the Pacific, and the bonds commercial and of other descriptions between them and the United States, are such that we could never, with indifference, allow them to pass under the dominion or exclusive control of any other power."

The negotiations thus begun halted in the execution; and early in the year 1851, the attitude of France continuing hostile, the Hawaiian king resolved upon extreme measures to maintain the integrity of his kingdom, or, at all events, to make it certain that it should not fall into the hands of a European power. Mr. Luther Severance now represented the United States at the Hawaiian Islands. His communications to the Department of State at Washington, Daniel Web-

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

ster being Secretary, are full of interest as touching the attitude of the French at this time and their evident desire to commit overt acts of aggression, if the slightest pretext could be found. It is evident that, having seized the Society Islands eight years before, the sovereignty of which France retains to the present day, it was the intention of that government, despite its joint agreement with England, to extend its control to this archipelago also. On the eleventh day of March, while all was uncertainty as to the intentions of the French naval forces at Honolulu, but while the worst was feared by the native, the American, and the English residents, Mr. Severance thus wrote to Mr. Webster :—

I wrote you yesterday, and sent the letter by mail in a vessel which sails Wednesday, in relation to the negotiations with M. Perrin, the French consul-general, and that there was little probability of an amicable conclusion. What will follow we cannot tell; but, in case of another hostile attack from the French, the king, with the approbation of his chiefs, and, I believe, nearly all the principal officers of the government, have it in contemplation to take down the Hawaiian flag and run up that of the United States. They contemplate annexation to our Republic, and

## FOREIGN AGGRESSIONS

have already consulted me about it. They would prefer a guarantee of protection from England and the United States, and have consulted with General Miller, the British consul-general here. He gives them no satisfaction, having written to his government on the same topic before and received no reply. . . . If the action of the French should precipitate a movement here, I shall be called upon, perhaps, to protect the American flag. I was indeed requested to go and see the king on Monday night, and in the presence of the council to give him assurance of protection, should he raise the American flag instead of his own; but I preferred to keep away so as to avoid all appearance of intrigue to bring about a result which, however desirable, and as many believe ultimately inevitable, must still be attended with difficulties and embarrassments. . . . I am in the highest degree anxious to have your instructions how far I may go in protecting the American flag if it shall be raised here. There will be no lack of volunteers to defend it on shore, and a host will soon rush here from California to uphold the stars and stripes. But then, if the French should fire upon the town from the corvette, might not Captain Gardiner [commander of United States steamship *Vandalia*] interpose to protect American property, which is to be found on both sides of every street in town and all along the wharves? Under the circumstances, I am strongly inclined to this opinion; but it requires very serious reflection. I hope no outbreak may change the present state of things till I can hear

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

from you, and know how far I can be justified in calling upon a volunteer force, or any of our vessels of war to defend the American flag, should it be raised here by the consent or desire of the existing government.

The *Sérieuse* may now go away without committing any act of hostility, but the difficulties are not settled. The French may return with a larger force. They have more ships of war in the Pacific,—one frigate and a brig, I believe. The natives look upon them as enemies; and, if they come again on a like errand, we shall be again appealed to for protection, and the subject of annexation will come up again with added force.

On the next day Mr. Severance continued his note to Mr. Webster, showing that the fear of a French attack upon the town was even greater than he had apprehended. Evidently, events moved with great rapidity at this critical time, a space of a day materially altering the *status* of affairs. He wrote:—

The tone of the California newspapers just received will quicken these jealousies and apprehensions. But what is most important for you to know is that a paper has actually been drawn up and executed, transferring the sovereign authority of the Islands to the United States, with the design of having the flag of the United States above the Ha-

## FOREIGN AGGRESSIONS

waiian. This is only to be used in case of hostilities by the French, otherwise to be a dead letter. I am not committed to this proceeding by any writing; nor have I been present, but have my information from one who was present. The most I have said in private conversation is that, if the king cedes the Islands to the United States and puts up the American flag, I will do what I can to protect it for the time being, until the pleasure of my government shall be known. Leaning upon us as they do, and sympathizing with them under aggravated wrongs and repeated insults, I could not tell them we should reject their proffered allegiance, and stand passive while they, with the American flag in their hands, should be trampled under foot by the French. If in this I have said too much, I am willing to be sacrificed, if I can be the means of bringing about ultimate favorable results.

A little later in the day officers of the king paid a visit to Mr. Severance in his office, and delivered to him a document which they allowed him to read. It was then placed in a sealed packet, upon which was this indorsement in the Hawaiian language:

The King requests the Commissioner of the United States, in case the flag of the United States is raised above the Hawaiian, that he will open the enclosed, and act accordingly.

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

Although by the words of this indorsement it appears that it was contemplated by the king and his counsellors, of their own motion, to raise the American flag "above the Hawaiian," it is quite certain that an afterthought led them to prepare a flag to be hoisted in case of French hostilities, which would declare a sovereignty over the Islands shared equally by the governments of the United States and of Hawaii. This flag, which was actually prepared by the hands of a loyal and enthusiastic Hawaiian woman, was unique in its character. The colors of the two nations were carefully stitched together, one flag upon the other, so that, when raised upon the staff, one side would reveal the colors of the Hawaiian kingdom and the other the American ensign.

The remarkable document which was, at this exciting time, thus prepared and placed under seal in the hands of the commissioner of the United States, was brief. In distinct terms it ceded the sovereignty of the Islands to the United States, but provisionally in the event that a complete settlement of the French misunderstanding could not be reached. The document follows:—

MOLO

## FOREIGN AGGRESSIONS

We, Kamehameha III, by the grace of God, of the Hawaiian Islands, King: by and with the advice of our Kuhina nui and counsellors of native chiefs, finding our relations with France so oppressive to my kingdom, so inconsistent with its rights as an independent State, and so obstructive of all our endeavors to administer the government of our Islands with equal justice with all nations, and equal independence of all foreign control, and despairing of equity and justice from France, hereby proclaim as our royal will and pleasure that all our Islands, and all our rights as sovereign over them, are, from the date hereof, placed under the protection and safeguard of the United States of America until some arrangement can be made to place our said relations with France upon a footing compatible with my rights as an independent sovereign under the laws of nations, and compatible with my treaty engagements with other foreign nations; or, if such arrangements be found impracticable, then is our wish and pleasure that the protection aforesaid under the United States of America be perpetual.

And we further proclaim, as aforesaid, that from the date of publication hereof the flag of the United States of America shall be hoisted above the national ensign on all our forts and places and vessels navigating with Hawaiian registers.

Done at Honolulu this tenth day of March, A.D. 1851, and in the twenty-sixth year of our reign.

KAMEHAMEHA.  
KEONI ANA.

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

This provisional cession made by the king, with the advice of his counsellors, was ratified by a joint resolution adopted by both houses of the Hawaiian Parliament, June 21, 1851. In the mean time Mr. Severance had reported the condition of affairs to the Department of State, and under date of July 14, 1851, received instructions from Mr. Webster, advising the utmost caution lest serious complications should arise between the United States and France. Especially was he warned not to allow the naval forces of the United States to interfere directly with any demonstration which might be made by the French forces against the defences of the Islands, the making of war being solely a prerogative of Congress. He was also instructed to return to the king the document which he had received from him. These were Mr. Severance's private instructions. An official communication was at the same time enclosed, in which Mr. Webster said :—

It is too plain to be denied or doubted that demands were made upon the Hawaiian government by the French commissioner wholly inconsistent with its character as an independent State,—demands which,



## FOREIGN AGGRESSIONS

if submitted to in this case, would be sure to be followed by other demands equally derogatory, not only from the same quarter, but probably also from other States; and this could only end in rendering the Islands and their government a prey to the stronger commercial nations of the world. It cannot be expected that the government of the United States could look on a course of things leading to such a result with indifference. The Hawaiian Islands are ten times nearer to the United States than to any of the powers of Europe. Five-sixths of all their commercial intercourse is with the United States; and these considerations, together with others of a more general character, have fixed the course which the government of the United States will pursue in regard to them. The annunciation of this policy will not surprise the governments of Europe, nor be thought to be unreasonable by the nations of the civilized world; and that policy is that, while the government of the United States, itself faithful to its original assurance, scrupulously regards the independence of the Hawaiian Islands, it can never consent to see those Islands taken possession of by either of the great commercial powers of Europe, nor can it consent that demands, manifestly unjust and derogatory and inconsistent with a *bona fide* independence, shall be enforced against that government. . . .

The Navy Department will receive instructions to place and to keep the naval armament of the United States in the Pacific Ocean in such a state of strength and preparation as shall be requisite for the preser-

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

vation of the honor and dignity of the United States and the safety of the government of the Hawaiian Islands.

Copies of this letter were placed in the hands of the French minister at Washington and of the American minister at Paris, and Mr. Severance was instructed to place a copy also in the hands of the French consul at Honolulu. These words, the meaning of which was unmistakable, served to check the aggressive movement of France toward the Hawaiian Islands; and, although the French government expressed a "surprise" at the attitude assumed by the United States, it hastened to disclaim any intention of unduly interfering with the government of the Hawaiian Islands, and especially disclaimed any thought of attempting to assume sovereignty.

With this letter the incident may be said to have been closed; yet in the correspondence of the Department of State with the minister of the United States at Paris, a year or two later, it is seen that France, and Great Britain as well, cherished a feeling of jealousy at the increasing influence of the United States in the Hawaiian Islands, and were ap-

## FOREIGN AGGRESSIONS

prehensive lest there might be an undercurrent of feeling, both in this country and in Hawaii, looking toward annexation. That these European governments were not deceived is apparent from the tenor of this correspondence.

## CHAPTER VII.

### LOOKING TOWARD ANNEXATION.

THE narrative has left Mr. Commissioner Ten Eyck anxiously awaiting at Honolulu the arrival of his successor in office, and chafing at what he regarded as an ignoring of his authority and dignity by Mr. Consul Turrill. In January, 1849, Charles Eames was appointed commissioner of the United States at the Hawaiian Islands, but does not appear to have set out for his post until several months later. On his arrival in San Francisco, Mr. Eames had the good fortune to meet Mr. Judd, the king's commissioner, who was on his way to Washington. Mr. Eames's instructions had included a charge to negotiate, if practicable, a treaty of friendship, commerce, and navigation with the island government. There could be no more convenient opportunity to effect this desirable end; and the two representatives, at San Francisco, framed a treaty which, it was believed, would be acceptable to both governments. In the mean time, however, the king had appointed Mr. Judd's coadjutor, James Jackson Jarves, who was then in this country ;

## LOOKING TOWARD ANNEXATION

and he, without the knowledge of Mr. Judd,—rapid communication between distant points being at that time impossible,—had proceeded to Washington, and there negotiated a similar treaty, the Secretary of State, Mr. Clayton, acting in behalf of the United States. This treaty was concluded on the twentieth day of December, 1849, was ratified by the Senate February 4, 1850, exchanged on the twenty-fourth of the following August, and proclaimed by President Fillmore on the ninth day of November, 1850. This was the first fully completed treaty between the United States and the Hawaiian Islands, that of 1821, negotiated by Captain Thomas ap Catesby Jones, having, it will be remembered, failed of ratification by the United States. This convention was, in substance, similar to those negotiated by our government with other nations for similar purposes, and still remained in force at the final annexation of the Islands to the domain of the United States, except so far as modified by later conventions.

It has been already seen that the governments of Great Britain and of France, as early as the year 1853, were apprehensive that an

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

undercurrent of feeling existed, both in the United States and in Hawaii, looking toward the ultimate annexation of the Islands. In December of that year Hon. W. L. Marcy, Secretary of State, wrote confidentially to Hon. John Mason, our minister at Paris, instructing him "to ascertain, if possible, without making it a matter of direct discussion, what would probably be the course of France in case of an attempt on the part of the United States to add these Islands to our Territorial possessions by negotiation or other peaceable means. I do not think," continued Mr. Marcy, "the present Hawaiian government can long remain in the hands of the present rulers, or under the control of the native inhabitants of these Islands, and both England and France are apprised of our determination not to allow them to be owned by, or to fall under the protection of, either of these powers or of any other European nation. It seems to be inevitable that they must come under the control of this government; and it would be but reasonable and fair that these powers should acquiesce in such a disposition of them, provided the transference was effected by fair means."

## LOOKING TOWARD ANNEXATION

It was just at this time that the American whale-fisheries were at their highest point. Fully six hundred and fifty American vessels, with a tonnage of more than two hundred thousand, were at that time engaged in this industry. By far the greater portion of these vessels were operating in the Pacific. In the early years of whaling it was the custom for a vessel to remain at sea until it had obtained a full cargo of oil, when the homeward voyage would be begun. One of the most picturesque features of the old whaling ports on the New England seaboard, notably Nantucket, is the "look-out" perched upon the house-top, whence the waiting families at home might watch for the return of long-expected vessels. In the most active years of the whale-fishery,—an industry now but little followed,—it was found to be preferable, when even a partial cargo had been obtained, to run in at the Hawaiian Islands, deposit the oil obtained for transshipment in merchant vessels, replenish provisions, water, and other needed articles, and return to the fishing grounds. Americans were rapidly settling in the Islands for the purpose of trade.

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

Hence the interests of the United States in the Islands were paramount; and the jealousy, especially of Great Britain and France, expanded rapidly. In corresponding degree grew the determination at Washington that no European power should be allowed to intermeddle in the Islands; and, as was natural, as a certain preventive of this, the sentiment for annexation in some form to the United States grew rapidly.

The United States, despite the jealous attitude of England, had extended its borders to the Pacific coast; and in 1847 California had been added. In the year 1850 it was admitted to Statehood, though separated from other States by a wide expanse of almost impassable mountain and plain. Only one year previous to this — in 1849 — the controversy with Great Britain concerning the Oregon boundary had been settled, and the line had been fixed at the forty-ninth degree of north latitude; and California had scarcely become accustomed to its new position as a member of the sisterhood of States, when the admission of Oregon also — an event consummated in 1856 — began to be a



## LOOKING TOWARD ANNEXATION

mooted question of the day. The discovery of gold in California, and the adjustment of the Oregon boundary question, together served to turn a vast tide of settlement toward the Pacific coast ; and the boundless possibilities of this vast region began to be evident. It was little wonder, then, that, with the rapidly increasing American interests in the Islands, the expanse of sea which lay between the Pacific coast and Hawaii — a sea whitened by the sails of hundreds of American ships — did not then seem an insuperable obstacle to the annexation of these Islands to our domain.

Early in the year 1854, in the administration of President Pierce, the attention of Congress was turned to this subject ; and the interest of the members was excited to such a degree that the President was, by resolution of the Senate, requested, "if not incompatible with the public interest," to communicate to that body copies of all correspondence between the governments of Great Britain and of the United States relative to the Hawaiian Islands. This correspondence called for was that relating to the seizure of the Islands by

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

Lord George Paulet, some ten years before. The significance of this request lay, beyond doubt, in the fact that, even at that time, negotiations were in progress with King Kamehameha III, looking toward an absolute cession of his kingdom to the Republic. While for twenty years previously the government of the United States had at various times, in its correspondence with its accredited representatives at Honolulu, expressed its intention to maintain the independence of the Islands from European control, and had disclaimed any intent to absorb the Islands, the greatest care had always been observed, in our diplomatic intercourse with other nations, to insist only that no European aggressions against the sovereignty of the Islands should be made, and without making any similar promises for ourselves. To alter our policy, therefore, in our private instructions to our own diplomatic representatives, so far as to entertain the idea of a compact of annexation with the King of Hawaii, would be, in no sense, a breaking of faith with any nation with whom we held diplomatic relations. David L. Gregg was now the commissioner

## LOOKING TOWARD ANNEXATION

of the United States to the Hawaiian Islands. In February, 1854, a despatch was received by the Department of State from him, intimating that the king had become convinced of his inability to sustain his government longer as an independent State, and that an offer of the sovereignty of the Islands to the United States was an event by no means improbable. Mr. Marcy's reply, dated April 4, 1854, empowered Mr. Gregg to proceed, if the emergency hinted at should arise, to negotiate a treaty whereby the Islands would be transferred to the United States. "A protectorate," wrote Mr. Marcy, "tendered to and accepted by the United States, would not change the sovereignty of the country. In that case this government would take upon itself heavy and responsible duties for which it could hardly expect compensating advantages. I understand that the measure proposed by the people, and that in which the present rulers are disposed to concur, is annexation as distinguished from protection, and that it is their intention that these Islands shall become a part of our Territories and be under the control of this

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

government as fully as any other of its Territorial possessions."

Proceeding in his suggestions for the details of the proposed treaty of annexation, Mr. Marcy called attention to the entire extinction of the sovereign rights of the island rulers and chiefs, as a necessary result of annexation, and admitted that these chiefs would be entitled to some compensation for such losses. This remuneration, he declared, must of course be pecuniary in its nature; and he suggested that the United States would manifest toward them a liberal spirit, and would agree to the distribution among them of annuities to the amount of one hundred thousand dollars, to be secured to them by the treaty.

Events in the Islands, at this point, moved rapidly. The movement toward annexation had undoubtedly emanated from the Islands. The strong commercial interests favored such a step. The king had become wearied by the constant demands made upon him by European powers, and by the frequent threats with which these demands were accompanied. The native population had, in the few years

## LOOKING TOWARD ANNEXATION

just passed, shown a fearful decrease in numbers, and the order of chiefs had become almost extinct. The dynasty itself was in danger of failure,—an event which, some years later, actually occurred. Other perils, too, beset this feeble nation. Rumors of coming uprisings against the constituted authorities were frequent; and, more than all, a formidable expedition of filibusters was said to be fitting out on the Pacific coast to seize the Islands and establish a new government under its leaders.

The British and French consuls presented to the king a joint protest against the annexation of the Islands to the United States; for the subject was so much the topic of conversation that the rumor could not fail to reach their ears. This protest was offset by a shower of petitions to the king, urging the consummation of the project. At this juncture a combined British and French squadron, comprising eight vessels of war, appeared in the harbor, having been ordered thither in all haste from Callao, Peru. This squadron made but a brief stay in port; but it was sufficiently long for the two admirals to pay a

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

formal visit to the king, and to express to him the hope that he entertained no thought of alienating the sovereignty of the kingdom, as such an act would lead to difficulty, and perhaps war, with England and France.

To this unconcealed threat the king prudently made no reply, and the negotiations for annexation proceeded. Mr. Gregg, however, speedily discovered that the island government was not disposed to be contented with the paltry sum of one hundred thousand dollars proposed as annuities to the king and chiefs. Thrice this sum was demanded, and no less would be accepted. Mr. Gregg, with a wry face, was obliged to agree upon this sum, but with the reservation that the agreement must be submitted to his government for ratification. There were other demands as well, which were difficult of acceptance. The Islands wished to be admitted to the Union as a State, and the demand included also an annual payment for ten years of seventy-five thousand dollars, to be devoted to the cause of education. These provisions were finally incorporated into the draft of a treaty of annexation. The nego-

## LOOKING TOWARD ANNEXATION

tiations were continued during the autumn of 1854, some, although not serious, opposition being made to its execution by the heir apparent to the throne. In October the British consul, General Miller, obtained an audience with the king, and, in a speech of upwards of an hour in duration, endeavored to dissuade the king from the final execution of the treaty. His attack upon the United States was violent, the king being assured that one of the worst evils which could befall his country and his countrymen would be to fall under the control of American institutions, corrupting in their tendency and inadequate in security.

The king heard him patiently to the end, but his reply to this harangue was non-committal in terms and in spirit; and the intimation was strongly made that, in the future, communications of importance should be made in writing. The feeling of good will borne by the government toward the United States was shown by a royal invitation to a reception, extended to the officers of the American war vessels then in port. The actual execution of the treaty was delayed, however, not-

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

withstanding the urgent advice of Mr. Gregg ; and, while negotiations were still pending, the king fell ill. He rapidly grew worse ; and on the fifteenth day of December, 1854, he died.

His death was followed by the accession to the throne of his adopted son and heir, Prince Alexander Liholiho, under the title of Kamehameha IV. On the eleventh day of January, 1855, he took the oath to support the constitution, and assumed the reins of government. He was then nearly twenty-one years of age, and a young man of excellent promise. A little more than a year later the king married Emma Rooke, an adopted daughter of an English physician, Dr. Rooke, and a granddaughter of the early English sailor-settler, John Young, whose arrival in the Islands has been recorded. Young had married a native woman, and his descendants were well known among the people of the Islands. The name of Queen Emma will appear again as an important feature at a future period in the narrative.

Although Prince Alexander had, before the death of the late king, given his formal consent to the negotiations, so far as they had pro-



## LOOKING TOWARD ANNEXATION

ceeded, and had countersigned, with the ministers of the kingdom, the protocols and the draft of the treaty, he betrayed after his accession a decided aversion to completing the treaty. When it is remembered that his future wife was of partial English descent, and that she had been reared in the home of an English settler, it is not difficult to comprehend the influence which, aside from his own natural desire to reign, persuaded him to this course. A letter from Mr. Marcy to Mr. Gregg, written before the intelligence of the king's death had reached Washington, indicates that the provision of the treaty by which the Islands were to be admitted as a State in the Union would not, probably, have received the approval of the United States government. But at this point the negotiations ceased, and it was fully a decade before the subject of annexation was again made the subject of serious discussion in either country.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### RISE OF THE SUGAR INDUSTRY.

THE American whale-fisheries had reached their maximum in the year 1854, the same year in which that treaty of annexation was negotiated by Kamehameha III which later Kamehameha IV failed to complete. At the beginning of the sixth decade of the century the whaling industry already showed a perceptible decline, and by its close the number of whaling vessels flying the American flag had lessened fully one-half. The cause of this remarkable decline of a once flourishing industry has been variously ascribed to the growing scarcity of whales; the discovery of large supplies of petroleum in our own country and its increasing use; and the substitution of steel for whalebone in the manufacture of clothing, umbrellas, and in other uses. It is probable that the first of these is the true cause, that the discovery of the oil wells of Pennsylvania was merely a remarkable coincidence, and that the substitution of steel for whalebone was the resort to which manufacturers were of necessity forced.

## RISE OF THE SUGAR INDUSTRY

The decline of the whale-fisheries, however, did not serve to produce a corresponding decline of American interests in the Hawaiian Islands. The early influences of the American missionaries were not easily effaced. Although, through the influence of Queen Emma, British interests were somewhat strengthened, and a see of the English Church was established in the Islands, yet the American missionary strength was in no whit lessened among the people. Then, too, a new and still more important American industry had taken root in the Islands, and was flourishing with even greater vigor than had at any time the whale-fisheries. If a few Americans, who had engaged in the formerly prosperous business of ship-supplies, had now returned, discouraged, to their homes, their places had soon been taken by other enterprising Americans, who had recognized the value of the island soil and climate in the cultivation of the sugar-cane. And so upon the ruins of one American industry rose another, far more lucrative and important, and one destined to aid in cementing the commercial interests of the two countries.

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

It was during this period that, as has already been told, the attention of the country was called to the rapidly growing commercial interests of our citizens in the Islands ; and the subject of a treaty of commercial reciprocity was agitated and finally consummated. In the year 1863 the rank of the American diplomatic office at Honolulu was raised to that of minister resident, and James McBride, of Oregon, was appointed by President Lincoln to that position. During the Civil War the attention of the government was devoted mainly to the conduct of military operations at home ; and the subject of treaties, either of reciprocity or of annexation with the Hawaiian State, were necessarily left in abeyance. This was the period of high tide of English influence in the Islands. The British and the Southern elements there were united in their feelings against the United States. The sentiments of the king and queen were favorable to Great Britain. Writing to Secretary of State Seward, in October, 1863, Minister McBride said :—

“The king is strongly predisposed in favor of the British in preference to Americans or

## RISE OF THE SUGAR INDUSTRY

those of any other nationality. English policy, English etiquette, and English grandeur seem to captivate and control him. His familiar associates are Englishmen ; and where an office becomes vacated by death, resignation, or otherwise, it is filled by the appointment of an Englishman. In a word, English diplomacy here has been so adroit and sagacious as to win the esteem and confidence of His Majesty and the royal family, while American diplomacy has been a complete failure in this respect. It is plainly to be seen that the British government places a high estimate on the future value of the Islands, believing, no doubt, that the Pacific and other railroads will be built, and that these Islands will become very important as a 'half-way house' between Europe and America on one side and China and Japan on the other, and also in their capacity for growing the sugar-cane, coffee, rice, and cotton, which, no doubt, will be very great when fairly and fully developed. The salubrity and peculiar pleasantness of the climate must also add much to the intrinsic worth and importance of this country."

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

Notwithstanding this preponderance of pro-British sentiment in high official circles, the commercial interests of American citizens were not lessened. A second extract from the same letter shows this: "I beg leave further to say that American interests greatly predominate here over all others combined, and not less than four-fifths of the commerce connected with these Islands is American. The merchants, traders, dealers of all kinds, and planters are principally Americans. The English have no commerce here worthy of the name, and but one or two retail stores; the Germans about the same amount of business as the English. Many American merchants here are doing quite a large business, and would extend their business still more but for the danger of British rule over this group, which, if it should become the dominant or governing power, American interests would be crushed out with eagerness and despatch. Such is the universal belief of all American citizens with whom I have conversed, and such is my own opinion. . . . Some merchants and planters are contracting their business, so that they may not suffer so heavy a

## RISE OF THE SUGAR INDUSTRY

loss in the event of the change which seems probable at no very distant day."

Mr. McBride further reports that a deputation sent by the British government had examined the Islands with especial reference to their capacity for cotton-growing. The result of this examination, and of experiments in the same line, were of the most encouraging nature.

It is not impossible that Mr. McBride, in characterizing thus strongly the attitude of Kamehameha IV, may have misapprehended, to some extent, the true feelings of the king. The English sympathies of Queen Emma were undoubted, and it was largely through her influence that the English Church was planted in the Islands. And yet, although the royal sympathies were turned, to a large extent, in this direction, it remains true that very many of the personal friends and associates of the king were drawn from among the American residents. While his sympathies were strongly English, he can scarcely be accused of actual anti-American tendencies.

Mr. McBride was succeeded by Mr. Ed-

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

ward M. McCook. In the mean time the king, whose health had long been precarious, died, in his twenty-ninth year, and after a reign of about nine years. His death was preceded by that of his only son, the little Prince of Hawaii, so that he left no direct heir. His elder brother, Prince Lot, the next in succession, ascended the throne on the thirtieth day of November, 1863.

This monarch soon showed a tendency toward the former royal absolutism. He refused to subscribe to the constitution which had been adopted in the reign of Kamehameha III, declared its abrogation, and proclaimed a new one which he himself had caused to be prepared. The character of Kamehameha V led him to such a conduct of public affairs as would redound chiefly to his own glory; but he cannot be accused of marked sympathies toward either the American or the English factions in his kingdom.

It was during the ministry of Mr. McCook that the steps were taken, already mentioned, toward a treaty of reciprocity between the two nations,—a movement which was defeated



## RISE OF THE SUGAR INDUSTRY

mainly through the earnest opposition of Senator Sumner. A private note to Secretary Seward, already quoted,\* shows that Kamehameha V was not wholly averse to a renewal of the propositions for annexation which had been brought to a sudden close by the death of Kamehameha III. It will be remembered that Mr. McCook had been authorized to sound the Hawaiian authorities on the "large subject" broached by him, and had been also assured that the government at Washington would make similar cautious inquiries of the Hawaiian minister at Washington.

It is undoubtedly true that, although the king earnestly favored the proposed treaty of reciprocity, certain of his ministers, whose antagonism to American influence in the Islands was unconcealed, were as earnestly opposed to it. At the same time an opposition to ratification was developed in Washington, but from quite a different cause. This was nothing less than a feeling, which Secretary Seward seems to have shared, that the execution of such a treaty would tend to

\* *Ante*, p 42.

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

hinder, if not wholly to defeat, annexation. "A lawful and peaceful annexation of the Islands to the United States, with the consent of the people of the Sandwich Islands," wrote Secretary Seward to Mr. McCook, "is deemed desirable by this government; and, if the policy of annexation should really conflict with the policy of reciprocity, annexation is in every case to be preferred."

In July, 1868, while the question of the ratification of the reciprocity treaty was still pending in the Senate of the United States, the subject of the annexation of the Islands was discussed in Honolulu; and it is unquestionable that a strong sentiment grew up in the Islands favorable to such an act. As earnestly, however, as such a settlement of the long existent Hawaiian question was desired by Secretary Seward, it was not deemed prudent, for political and financial reasons, that the issue should be raised at that time. "The public attention," wrote Secretary Seward, in confidence, to Mr. Z. S. Spalding at Honolulu, "sensibly continues to be fastened upon the domestic questions which have grown out of the late Civil War. The pub-

## RISE OF THE SUGAR INDUSTRY

lic mind refuses to dismiss these questions even so far as to entertain the higher but more remote questions of national extension and aggrandizement. . . . How long sentiments of this sort may control the proceedings of the government is uncertain; but in the mean time it will be well for you not to allow extravagant expectations of sympathy between the United States and the friends of annexation in the Islands to influence your own conduct."

Notwithstanding the feeling of prudent apathy upon this subject which prevailed in Washington, an increasing sentiment favorable to a political union with the American Republic was rapidly growing in Honolulu. This was especially strong immediately after the beginning of President Grant's administration. The agitation of the subject was renewed at the Islands; and many men of influence, who had theretofore carefully refrained from expressing their sentiments upon this important topic, became outspoken in their advocacy of annexation. As time passed and the hopes of Americans in Hawaii for the final ratification of the reciprocity treaty began rapidly to

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

recede, the sentiment for annexation began proportionally to expand. There were those who went so far as to suggest among themselves the feasibility of a seizure of the Islands by the forces of the United States; but such a movement was not, probably, discussed at all by the government at Washington. Some slight apprehension in the mind of the king that such an act might be contemplated was allayed by the minister resident, who took occasion, in the course of an informal conversation with him, to remark that "the United States had never yet acquired a foot of territory by conquest," and that the additions to her boundaries had all been made by purchase. Continuing, Mr. McCook broadly intimated that the United States might be disposed to enter into a similar transaction with His Majesty, suggesting that money was a great power, particularly with a needy population, and that a good naval depot between the Pacific coast and China was increasingly desired by his government.

The king, although receiving the suggestions in an excellent spirit, was perplexed in

## RISE OF THE SUGAR INDUSTRY

his endeavor to solve satisfactorily the problem thus presented, inasmuch as the coasts of his kingdom afforded but two available ports, Honolulu and Hilo, and both of these were situated upon important islands of the group. He might, he thought, be willing to part with one of the lesser islands; but these, he felt sure, would be of no value to the United States on account of the lack of a port.

At this time there occurred a slight friction between the two governments, which, although of no considerable importance in itself, served in some degree to intensify the feeling of the anti-American faction. The United States steamship *Lackawanna* was in Hawaiian waters, having been sent thither as an evidence of the good will of the government of the United States toward the island kingdom. The commander, Captain Reynolds, had been in past times a resident of the Islands, and was known to hold some political sentiments at variance with those of certain of the king's political advisers. These ministers — whether really or pretendedly does not appear — were apprehensive lest the presence of the *Lackawanna* betokened a possible forcible aggres-

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

sion upon the sovereignty of the island government. The king's minister for foreign affairs, M. de Varigny, was especially vigorous, almost violent, in his insistence that the *Lackawanna* must withdraw from Hawaiian waters. It was doubtless to allay any apprehensions of this sort which might be in the king's mind that Mr. McCook took occasion to give His Majesty the assurances above related. This conversation appears to have served to remove all fears of any overt act on the part of the United States, and the incident was regarded as closed.

## CHAPTER IX.

### THE KALAKAUA RÉGIME.

THE administration of President Grant saw, besides a fresh movement for the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands, also, still another change of government in those Islands occasioned by the death of the king. The health of the king had long been feeble, and the possibility of his early death was hinted at in a despatch of our minister to the Department of State as early as February, 1871. Under Grant's administration the Hon. Hamilton Fish had become Secretary of State. Mr. Henry A. Pierce, long an American merchant resident at Honolulu, and one thoroughly conversant with the political, commercial, and social life of the Islands, was appointed minister to the Islands. Mr. Pierce's communication, in addition to the intimation of the possibly approaching death of the king, included a suggestion that the time for a closer political union of the Islands with this country was close at hand. This letter was regarded by President Grant as of sufficient importance to be sent to the Senate, under the seal of secrecy. No action was

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

at that time taken upon this suggestion. In December, 1872, the death of the king occurred. He left no personal heirs; and he had neglected to take advantage of his constitutional prerogative of appointing his successor. From that act he had been deterred, it is said, through a superstition, in which he had been encouraged by a native sorceress, that his own death would follow closely upon such an act. With his death the Hawaiian dynasty, which had been established sixty years before, now became extinct. The right of succession of Lunalilo, by birth the highest in the line of chiefs, was universally conceded. A few days after the death of the king this prince issued an address to the Hawaiian people, calling for a popular vote of instructions to the legislature on the election of a king. Almost without a dissenting vote, instructions were given for Lunalilo; and he was elected without opposition.

The reign of Lunalilo was short, for he died scarcely more than a year after he ascended the throne. It was during this brief reign, however, that still another step was taken in the direction of annexation. In



## THE KALAKAUA RÉGIME

March, 1873, Secretary Fish, in a letter of instructions of considerable length and interest, addressed to Minister Pierce, advised him in these words :—

“There seems to be a strong desire on the part of many persons in the Islands, representing large interests and great wealth, to become annexed to the United States. And, while there are many and influential persons in this country who question the policy of any insular acquisitions, perhaps even of any extension of territorial limits, there are also those of influence and wise foresight who see a future that must extend the jurisdiction and the limits of this nation, and that will require a resting spot in the mid-ocean, between the Pacific coast and the vast domains of Asia, which are now opening to commerce and Christian civilization. . . . Should occasion offer, you will, without committing the government to any line of policy, not discourage the feeling that may exist in favor of annexation to the United States ; and you will cautiously and prudently avail of any opportunity that may present of ascertaining the views of the

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

Hawaiian authorities on this question, and, if there be any idea entertained in that direction among those in official position, you will endeavor to sound them, and ascertain their views as to the manner and the terms and conditions on which such project could be carried into execution."

The early death of King Lunalilo and the events which followed served again to put an end, for the time being, to this discussion. As at the death of Kamehameha V, so now the throne was left without a natural or appointed heir. That the king had omitted the wise precaution of selecting his successor was not due to any neglect, upon his part, of his royal duty and prerogative. As he became conscious that death was approaching, he summoned to his room the Princess Bernice Pauahi, a princess of the royal line, who had married a wealthy American banker resident in the Islands, Mr. Charles R. Bishop. To her the king offered the succession to the throne, as, indeed, his predecessor, Kamehameha V, had also done. In the first instance the honor had been declined, Mrs. Bishop believing that the claims of Prince Lunalilo

## THE KALAKAUA RÉGIME

to the throne were paramount to hers. When again the offer of the throne came to her, from the hands of King Lunalilo, she begged for delay until the next morning, that she might consider the proposition and consult with her husband, who was temporarily absent. The delay was fatal to her succession; for, before the morning, death had come to the king, and the throne was left without a constitutional successor.

Nine days after the king's death, in February, 1874, the Hawaiian legislature was convened for the important purpose of electing a king. For the first time since the establishment of the monarchy a violent dispute arose as to the succession to the throne. Two factions at once appeared. The first of these was composed of the adherents of Queen Emma, the dowager queen of Kamehameha IV. To this faction the English residents in the Islands, and all those of English sympathies, instantly rallied. The other faction was headed by David Kalakaua, a descendant of one of the minor chiefs of the Islands. The canvass was one of much bitterness. It was urged that Queen Emma

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

was of a subsidiary line of the Kamehamehas, and hence entitled by right of descent to the succession. Kalakaua, on the other hand, was a man of much political influence in the Islands and an adept in political intrigue.

The legislature met for the conduct of its important office; and the partisans of Queen Emma, evidently understanding that the proceedings within the legislative chamber were already a foregone conclusion, formed an immense, excited, clamoring mob without. The doors of the executive building were assailed, the rooms sacked, and some of the representatives fiercely assaulted. The police of the city were unable to quell the riot; and the Hawaiian troops could not be relied upon for its dispersion, many of them being personally in sympathy with the rioters.

At this serious juncture the force of the United States was called upon, for the first time in the history of the Island monarchy, to interpose in the interest of peace and order. The United States ships of war *Tuscarora*, Commander Belknap, and *Portsmouth*, Commander Skerrett, lay in the harbor; and from them, at the request of the

## THE KALAKAUA RÉGIME

Hawaiian authorities, a force of one hundred and fifty armed men was sent on shore to restore order and protect the property of American citizens. This force went to the courthouse, dispersed the mob, and placed the building under military control.

Scarcely had this been accomplished when a force of sailors and marines, from the British war vessel *Tenedos*, was landed, without a request from the authorities. It is said, indeed, that they were landed without orders from the officers of the ship. They at once marched to the residence of Queen Emma, dispersed a lawless crowd which surrounded it, and thence marched to the barracks, where they remained for eight days. It is said, however, that this action was afterward legalized by an antedated note of the Hawaiian authorities requesting such action.

The mob which had attacked the legislative assembly, for the undoubted purpose of preventing the election of Kalakaua, having been dispersed by American bayonets, the election proceeded with the anticipated result.

The election of Kalakaua as king being

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

fully declared, and he having been recognized as the rightful sovereign by the American, British, and French representatives, Minister Pierce, in his capacity of minister resident of the United States, paid a visit to Queen Emma. To her he conveyed the intelligence of the election and recognition of King Kalakaua, and advised her also to recognize him as such, and to call upon her followers to accept the situation without further disorder. This advice of the American minister was received with respect and followed without question, amicable relations, through this mediation, being at once established and ever after maintained.

During the reign of Kalakaua the relations of the United States to the Islands grew rapidly closer. The government at Washington did not, perhaps, feel a sense of responsibility for the island government, from the fact that Kalakaua might not have reached the throne but for the interposition of the American forces. The demand, however, for a treaty of reciprocity in both countries grew stronger, as their commercial relations grew more and more intimate and important. The final con-

## THE KALAKAUA RÉGIME

summation of this long-considered project, in the year 1875, has been considered in a previous chapter. The vigorous words of Secretary Blaine, before quoted,\* served beyond question to impress firmly upon the minds of European statesmen, and especially of the English, that any interference upon their part with the Hawaiian Islands, in their relations to this country, would be steadily and sharply resented.

The jealousy of the British government at the rapidly increasing intimacy between the United States and Hawaii soon became more apparent. In the autumn of the year 1874 it was determined by King Kalakaua that he would pay a formal visit to the United States for the purpose of meeting the American people and studying our institutions. This purpose he carried into effect, although the British and French commissioners remonstrated against the plan, alleging the political condition of the Islands as their pretext for interference. "I am of the belief," wrote Minister Pierce, "that they are not actuated therein by a real regard for the welfare

\* *Ante*, p. 50.

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

of this nation, but by a desire to throw obstacles in the way of, and prevent, if possible, closer relations taking place between Hawaii and the United States."

The king was conveyed to San Francisco on the United States steamship *Benicia*; and after a tour in this country, of several weeks, he returned to his kingdom, being conveyed thither on board the United States steamship *Pensacola*.

The execution of the treaty of reciprocity, which followed closely after the return of the king to his home, must be regarded as having received a large impetus from his visit to this country. The attitude of Great Britain toward Hawaii, approaching hostility, which succeeded the promulgation of this treaty, has already been discussed, together with Mr. Blaine's vigorous attitude.

The position taken by the government at Washington, while it served to check any forcible movement which might have been contemplated by the British government to attain its ends, did not wholly allay irritation. Long-continued diplomatic correspondence, including the interchange of commissioners



## THE KALAKAUA RÉGIME

between Great Britain and Hawaii, was followed by equally vigorous discussion of other issues. In all of these controversies, Minister Wodehouse was an earnest participant, never failing to display a strong personal prejudice against the United States and everything American. The subject of coolie immigration into the Islands from British India, and a revival of the half-forgotten *Lackawanna* incident, served to keep alive the embers of British jealousy. This feeling at length became so apparent that Mr. Blaine, now President Arthur's Secretary of State, in December, 1881, took occasion to write : —

It [ this government ] firmly believes that the position of the Hawaiian Islands, as the key to the dominion of the American Pacific, demands their benevolent neutrality, to which end it will earnestly co-operate with the native government. And if, through any cause, the maintenance of such a position of benevolent neutrality should be found by Hawaii to be impracticable, this government would then unhesitatingly meet the altered situation by seeking an avowedly American solution for the grave issues presented.

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

In December of the same year Mr. Blaine addressed a confidential communication to Hon. James M. Comly, then minister of the United States at Honolulu, in which that official was instructed, in view of the commercial and agricultural possibilities of the Islands, to give close attention to the subject, with an especial view to a possible future annexation of the Islands. He also suggested that a Hawaiian homestead act, for the benefit of actual American settlers, might be in turn supplemented in the United States by voluntarily organized emigration schemes and co-operative aid to *bona-fide* settlers.

Two years later than this Mr. Frelinghuyzen — who had succeeded Mr. Blaine at the head of the State Department in President Arthur's cabinet — received an appeal from the Hawaiian government to join with the king in a protest of grave import. Great Britain and France had been showing great activity in extending their possessions in Polynesia, various groups of islands having been seized and absorbed by one or the other of these powers. It was in protesting against these territorial extensions that King Kala-

## THE KALAKAUA RÉGIME

kaua desired the co-operation of the United States. The position assumed by the government at Washington in this matter is significant as showing its exceptional attitude toward its relations to the Hawaiian Islands, while keeping aloof from all appearance of interference in other and more remote regions of Oceanica. "While we could not," wrote Mr. Frelinghuysen, in declining to join in the protest, "view with complacency any movement tending to the extinction of the national life of the intimately connected commonwealths of the Northern Pacific, the attitude of this government toward the distant outlying groups of Polynesia is necessarily different."

## CHAPTER X.

### CESSION OF PEARL HARBOR.

THE provisional cession by the Hawaiian government to the United States of Pearl Harbor, by the convention of 1887, was the first step which gave to the latter any rights territorial in the Islands. The importance of this can scarcely be overestimated; and yet, admirably as is this harbor adapted for naval and commercial purposes, various influences at Washington, from year to year, intervened to prevent any actual occupation of it. In fact, the flag was never raised over this valuable cession, nor any steps taken to utilize its immense advantages.

Pearl Harbor is a magnificent harbor, completely land-locked, and capable in extent and in depth of water of affording anchorage to as large a fleet as is ever collected in one place. In its geographical formation it closely resembles many of the former Spanish harbors in the West Indies. The approach is by a somewhat narrow channel, capable of impregnable fortifications. The harbor is peculiar in that it is not composed of a single open roadstead, but of three distinct portions,

## CESSION OF PEARL HARBOR

or locks, divided by islands, or by jutting tongues of land. These three locks offer a combined water frontage of about thirty miles. In many places the land formation is of coral; and so abrupt is the coral line that vessels can find natural wharves, a single gang-plank stretching from deck to shore. Especially is this true of Rabbit Island, the chief of the islets. The shores fringing this harbor are very beautiful with their sub-tropical foliage. At one point a fine shelving beach is strewn thickly with fragments of pearl shell,—a circumstance which serves to give the name to the place.

Pearl Harbor is situated at a distance of seven miles from Honolulu, and in some respects is superior to the harbor of that city. In its vicinity is the famous Ewa sugar plantation, the most productive of the plantations of the Islands. A line of railway, which partially encircles the island of Oahu, connects the harbor with the city of Honolulu. So many and so distinct are the advantages which this harbor displays, especially in its absolute security to vessels in time of storm, that it is not improbable that, but for one cir-

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

cumstance, the city of Honolulu would have been built here. This circumstance is the discovery of the presence of a coral-reef bar across the entrance to the harbor. This reef is believed completely to encircle the island, save at the mouth of the harbor of Honolulu.

So long ago as the year 1873 the United States steamship *California* paid a visit to the Islands, conveying thither a military commission, consisting of Major-general J. M. Schofield and Brevet Brigadier-general B. S. Alexander, a lieutenant colonel of United States Engineers. This commission proceeded, under secret instructions from the Secretary of War, to examine the different ports of the Hawaiian Islands with reference to their defensive capabilities and their commercial facilities. Its report was that the harbor of Honolulu was the only good commercial harbor in the group, and that even this, from its peculiar formation, is useless as a harbor of refuge for war vessels in time of war. The commission found in the unused Pearl Harbor, however, all that is essential for the desired purpose. An examination of the harbor bar — not so thorough as could have been

## CESSION OF PEARL HARBOR

wished — revealed the fact that it was composed of “dead” coral,—that is, of coral in which growth had ceased; that it was somewhat less than three hundred yards in width, and was covered by a depth of water, at low tide, of from two to three fathoms. The sides of the reef were found to be vertical, or nearly so, and steeper upon the outer, or sea, side than on the inner, or shore, side. The shores, the commission reported, are admirably adapted for the erection of buildings necessary for a naval depot. It was thought by the commission that an entrance might easily be cut through the bar sufficient to open a channel two hundred yards in width, and with a sufficient depth of water at low tide, for the sum of two hundred and fifty thousand dollars. Subsequent careful surveys, made twenty years after, developed the remarkable fact that a natural channel exists through the reef, at the entrance to the harbor, filled only by an accumulation of what is known as soft coral, or coral sand. This, it was claimed, might easily be removed; and thus the harbor made accessible to the largest vessels at a comparatively small expense.

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

The report of this commission, which included the information that the mind of the king was favorably inclined toward a cession of Pearl Harbor, in return for the advantages to be gained by the Islands by a treaty of reciprocity, produced a profound impression upon the government at Washington. This was intensified by the subsequent appearance of General Schofield before a committee of the House of Representatives to urge the importance, chiefly from a military point of view, of the adoption of some measure through which the control of the Islands might pass to the United States. It was at this time that the sentiment favorable to annexation to the United States was more ardent and more general among the people of the Islands than at any other period; and the cession of Pearl Harbor as a preliminary act to such a sequence would, no doubt, have been heartily approved among the Hawaiians. It was during the height of this feeling, in which King Lunalilo shared, that the death of that sovereign occurred and the accession of Kalakaua. However, the reciprocity treaty, which was, perhaps, the most impor-



## CESSION OF PEARL HARBOR

tant act of his reign, as originally executed and ratified, did not include a cession of Pearl Harbor. This act was reserved, doubtless by mutual consent, until after the expiration of the stipulated seven years' duration of the treaty, and its extension by convention for the further term of seven years. This new convention was not framed precisely at the expiration of the stipulated term, the treaty being allowed to stand, under the provision requiring either party to give one year's notice of a desire to abrogate it. It was not then until December, 1884, a month after the election of President Cleveland to his first term of office, that this new convention, conveying the cession of this important harbor, was concluded. It was not until January, 1887, that the ratification of this convention was adopted by the Senate; and nearly a year more was allowed to pass before it received the signature of the President.

That the renewal of the treaty of reciprocity was ardently desired by President Cleveland is shown in a passage in his message to the forty-ninth Congress at the opening of its

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

second session in December, 1886. "I express my unhesitating conviction," said Mr. Cleveland, "that the intimacy of our relations with Hawaii should be emphasized. As a result of the reciprocity treaty of 1875, those Islands, on the highway of Oriental and Australasian traffic, are virtually an outpost of American commerce and a stepping-stone to the growing trade of the Pacific. The Polynesian island groups have been so absorbed by other and more powerful governments that the Hawaiian Islands are left almost alone in the enjoyment of their autonomy, which it is important for us should be preserved. Our treaty is now terminable on one year's notice; but propositions to abrogate it would be, in my judgment, most ill-advised. The paramount influence we have there acquired, once relinquished, could only with difficulty be regained, and a valuable ground of vantage for ourselves might be converted into a stronghold for our commercial competitors. I earnestly recommend that the existing treaty stipulations be extended for a further term of seven years. A recently signed treaty to this end is now before the Senate.

## CESSION OF PEARL HARBOR

The importance of telegraphic communications between those Islands and the United States should not be overlooked."

The cession of Pearl Harbor being one of the provisions of a treaty, limited in its term and capable of being abrogated by either of the high contracting parties at one year's notice, it was regarded by many as in its terms provisional. It was the contention of these that the expiration of the treaty of limitation, or its abrogation by act of either party to the contract, would act as a withdrawal of the cession of rights in Pearl Harbor. Others contended, on the other hand, that the cession of the Pearl Harbor rights was absolute, and that such rights could not be forfeited in the event of the cessation of other stipulations of the treaty. It is, perhaps, fortunate that this delicate international question was never actually precipitated, although a serious movement was made in the year 1897, in Congress, looking toward an abrogation of the treaty. It is said that this movement was instigated by the sugar-refining interests in this country. Fortunately, it was unsuccessful.

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

The conclusion and ratification of this supplementary convention, including, as it did, the cession of exclusive rights in Pearl Harbor, was the signal for another exhibition of the jealous spirit of Great Britain. The treaty had scarcely been proclaimed when a note was handed to Secretary of State Bayard by the British ambassador at Washington, from Lord Salisbury, British prime minister. In this the attention of the United States government was called to the Franco-English compact of 1843, by which those two nations agreed never to take possession of the Hawaiian Islands, either directly or under the title of a protectorate, and suggesting a triple compact, in which the United States should join, guaranteeing the neutrality and equal accessibility of the Islands and their harbors to the ships of all nations without preference.

Simultaneously with the delivery of this note a formal protest was made to the Hawaiian government, by the British commissioner at Honolulu, against a grant to the United States of the exclusive use of Pearl Harbor as a coaling and repair station. This

## CESSION OF PEARL HARBOR

protest was based upon an article of the existing Anglo-Hawaiian treaty, which granted to British vessels of war liberty of entry to all harbors to which such ships of other nations "are or may be permitted to come."

Mr. Bayard replied to the note of the British premier by reiterating what had evidently been already orally conveyed to the British ambassador, to the effect that in the Pearl Harbor cession there was nothing to impair the political sovereignty of Hawaii. But that the British government saw in this cession an indication of a coming passage of the sovereignty of the Islands to the United States is evident from this reply of Mr. Bayard, and it is made absolutely certain from the tone of the protest of the British commissioner made to the Hawaiian government. "Under instructions from Her Majesty's government," wrote the commissioner, "I have already pointed out to the government of His Hawaiian Majesty that the acquisition by a foreign power of a harbor or preferential concession in the Hawaiian Islands would infallibly lead to the loss of the independence of the Islands."

The object of the British government in

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

making this protest was, of course, twofold. It desired to prevent, if possible, the acquisition by the United States of a naval station of such great strategic importance as that at Pearl Harbor; and it desired at the same time to prevent the consummation of an act which, in the eyes of skilful diplomats, appeared to be the first step toward an absorption of the sovereignty of the Islands by the Great Republic. It had long been the policy of Great Britain to prevent, by all the means in its power, the acquirement by the United States of points which might have a naval or military value.

This effort failed; for the Hawaiian minister for foreign affairs, in an able consideration of the case, replied to the arguments of the British commissioner in a way which served to silence further cavil. The cession of Pearl Harbor, therefore, continued in force so long as the sovereignty of the Hawaiian Islands continued; but beyond the making of careful surveys of the bar, and of estimates for its removal, no steps were taken by the United States toward the improvement and utilization of its acquired rights.

## CESSION OF PEARL HARBOR

While the question of the ratification of the supplementary convention was pending in the Senate, the people of the United States were interested and gratified by the coming of Queen Kapiolani to the United States for an extended tour. The queen, who thus made her first visit to a foreign land, was accompanied by Princess Liliuokalani and a suite of attendants. The royal ladies were everywhere received with marked respect, and were made sincerely welcome. While this visit of the queen and the princess, the heir-apparent, had, perhaps, no important political significance, yet it served to disclose the sincere good will of the American people toward the Hawaiians, and to join still more closely the relations between the two nations.

## CHAPTER XI.

### ACCESSION OF LILIUOKALANI.

IN the summer of 1889, for the second time since the establishment of the Hawaiian monarchy, the forces of the United States were called upon to intervene, in a time of popular uprising, for the protection of the lives and property of Americans. On the thirtieth day of July, in that year, an insurrection against the government broke out in the city of Honolulu. It was led by Robert W. Wilcox and Robert Boyd, two half-caste Hawaiians, who had gathered a body of about one hundred adherents. Although these two men were the actual leaders of the attempted revolt, it is asserted that their act was instigated by a person of high social and political distinction. It should be explained that in the year 1877, three years after the accession of Kalakaua, Prince Leleiohoku, the heir apparent to the throne, suddenly sickened and died. Upon the prince's death the king, exercising his constitutional privilege, appointed his own sister, Lydia Kamaeaha Liliuokalani, to the succession.

The year 1887 was prolific of incidents of



## ACCESSION OF LILIUOKALANI

moment in the history of the Islands. In that year the substantial people, tired of the king's many acts subversive of popular liberty, and gross in their venality, rose in their righteous wrath and indignation. A mass meeting of the people was called, at which demands were made which the king dared not refuse. Evidently, he felt his throne tottering; and to the new constitution which was framed he gave his ready assent. The preamble of this constitution recited that the "constitution of this kingdom heretofore in force contains many provisions subversive of civil rights, and incompatible with enlightened constitutional government," and that it had become imperative, "in order to restore order and tranquillity and the confidence necessary to a further maintenance of the present government, that a new constitution should be at once promulgated." This new constitution, as may be inferred from this preamble, contained many liberal provisions, and gave good satisfaction to the people. The heir apparent to the throne, however, made no secret of her implacable hostility to the idea of a liberal government. She is

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

said to have openly upbraided her brother for his lack of vigor in failing to assert his royal prerogatives, and to have longed for a return, so far as possible, to that ancient absolutism of the sovereign which prevailed before the white man imported the idea of a constitutional government.

Such being her attitude, it may be true, as was openly charged, that the Wilcox-Boyd rebellion was incited by her, in the hope of dethroning, by this means, her brother, and placing herself in absolute power.

At an early hour on the day of the insurrection a messenger from the king hurried to the house of the minister resident of the United States. He brought the intelligence that the palace grounds and the government building and offices were in the hands of insurgents. The representatives of foreign governments in the city were hastily consulted; and an attempt was made to communicate with the leader of the insurgents, in order to ascertain what were his demands. This effort failed, and soon the sound of rifles and of cannon at the government building came to the ears of all in the city. The

## ACCESSION OF LILIUOKALANI

tops of the surrounding buildings were occupied by government sharpshooters, whose rapid and accurate fire soon disconcerted the enemy.

At this exciting juncture the sound of the drum and fife was heard approaching in the streets, and an armed force of marines from the United States steamship *Adams* appeared. A retreat was made by the insurgents to the king's "bungalow," or private residence, adjoining the palace grounds. This building they succeeded in holding throughout the day. As night approached, and as more and perhaps really severe fighting was expected in order to dislodge the insurgents, it was deemed prudent to land the remaining forces on board the *Adams*. This having been done, soon after the insurgents — disheartened, and seeing themselves surrounded by the government forces and all escape cut off — decided to surrender.

In this united action of the American minister and Commander Woodward, of the *Adams*, strict neutrality was maintained; and not the slightest movement was made by the force of marines which could be construed as

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

giving military aid either to the government forces, or to the insurgents. The sole motive in landing these troops was that they might be held in readiness to protect the lives of Americans, should they be menaced, and to prevent the destruction of American property. In acting thus prudently, the commander of the forces of the United States followed the general custom adopted in such crises by all civilized nations, to protect its citizens and their property in foreign lands.

In the spring of the year 1890 the International American Conference was convened in Washington. At the suggestion of President Harrison, and in pursuance of a resolution of Congress, an invitation was extended to the Hawaiian king to send a delegate; and, although the delegate thus sent failed to reach Washington until after the close of the Conference, the incident is significant, as showing not only the good feeling which existed between the two governments, but also the sentiment at Washington, which regarded the Hawaiian Islands as essentially a member of the family of American nations.

In December of the same year, King Kala-

## ACCESSION OF LILIUOKALANI

kauna determined to pay a second visit to the United States. It is not recorded that this time the European powers repeated their protest against the plan. His Majesty was received at San Francisco with the honors due his rank. But almost immediately after his arrival he was stricken with mortal illness; and on the twentieth day of January, 1891, he died at the Palace Hotel in San Francisco. The body of the king was returned to Honolulu, on board the United States steamship *Charleston*, and reached that port nine days after his death.

Hawaii now had reached a crisis in its history. The character and desires of the heir apparent had been disclosed in the revolt of 1889, when she had sought to elevate herself to absolute power at the expense of her brother's sovereignty. Almost immediately upon the reception of the news of the king's death she was proclaimed queen, January, 1891, under the title of Liliuokalani. On ascending the throne the princess took the oath to support and maintain the existing constitution of the country. But yet there were many who, aware of her decided views

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

in regard to royal sovereignty, felt that this oath had been taken with a mental reservation. That this is true, or that the queen disregarded her official oath, is shown by the occurrences which followed.

Scarcely had the crown become settled securely upon her head, when the queen began to show those sentiments of absolutism of which she formerly had been suspected. Under the constitution of 1887 the queen's ministers could be removed only by impeachment or by vote of the legislature. It became evident that it was the endeavor of the queen to force the resignation of her ministers, for the purpose, it was largely believed, of filling their places with men who would be more pliant to her will. In less than a month after her accession, John L. Stevens—then minister resident of the United States at the Hawaiian Islands—wrote to Mr. Blaine, President Harrison's Secretary of State, in terms which showed the intensity of popular feeling.

"The present ministry has been but a few months in office," wrote Minister Stevens; "and the best men of the Islands, including

## ACCESSION OF LILIUOKALANI

nearly all the principal business men, wish the present ministry to remain, who by the present constitution are chiefly independent of the crown, and cannot be removed except by impeachment or by the votes of the legislature. Under her extreme notions of sovereignty and the influence of her bad advisers the queen is trying to force the resignation of the ministers, and to get a cabinet composed of her tools. So far the ministers have refused to resign, and the best public opinion increases in their support. Should the Supreme Court sustain the right of the ministers, which is very clearly and strongly intrenched in the constitution, the ministers will be supported by such a united determination of the business men and other better citizens of the Islands as will force the queen to yield. If she should still persist, and attempt to form a ministry of her own without the consent of the legislature, she will surely imperil her throne."

The opinion of Mr. Stevens was not, however, sustained by that of the Supreme Court. A decision was rendered which declared the positions of the cabinet ministers to have

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

been vacated at the king's death. Pleased with her victory, the queen planned for an unlimited exercise of power, but bided her time until matters appeared to be ripe. Her sympathies were still largely inclined toward the American element in the Islands, by reason of her marriage to John O. Dominis, a native of Boston, and a man thoroughly imbued with the sentiment of his nationality. But in less than a year after the accession of his wife to the throne, General Dominis died. From that time the queen's love for the American people seems to have waned, and in its place appeared a growing sentiment toward the English element.

Soon after she began to reign, Queen Liliuokalani had appointed her niece, the Princess Victoria Kaiulani, the heir to the throne. This princess, then a girl in her teens, was a daughter of a deceased sister of the queen, her father being an Englishman of wealth and of excellent reputation, the Hon. A. S. Cleghorn. At this time the young princess was obtaining her education in England, and was believed to be thoroughly imbued with English sympathies. From this period



## ACCESSION OF LILIUOKALANI

onward the history of American influence in the Islands is of necessity inextricably blended with the political history of the island government itself. So rapid were the various movements which go to make up the island history, and so closely were they watched by the government at Washington through its representative at Honolulu, that to trace the exact effect of American influences is almost impossible.

As the months passed, the design of the queen to return, so far as possible, to the ancient absolutism, rapidly developed. Her dissatisfaction with the liberal provisions of the constitution of 1887 became more and more apparent. The marshal of the kingdom, a half-caste Tahitian named Wilson, was a confidential adviser of the queen,—a circumstance which served to create some popular dissatisfaction. By character and education Wilson was deemed by many to be unfit to fill the important position of principal adviser to the queen. Nominally, this man, as already stated, occupied the office of marshal of the kingdom. Really, he was by many regarded as possessing an influence equal to that

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

of prime minister. Mutterings, first low, then loud, were heard,—mutterings of discontent which bade fair to culminate in open rebellion. This dissatisfaction pervaded the legislature, and in the early autumn of the year 1892 a vote of “want of confidence” in the queen’s ministry precipitated an open conflict between the legislative and the executive branches of the government. “My present impression is,” wrote Minister Stevens in October, “that the queen and her faction will have to yield. Otherwise the entire overthrow of the monarchy could not be long delayed.”

Convinced that a crisis was near at hand, Mr. Stevens in November, 1892, again wrote to the Department of State:—

“One of two courses seems to me absolutely necessary to be followed,—either bold and vigorous measures for annexation or a ‘customs union,’ an ocean cable from the Californian coast to Honolulu, Pearl Harbor perpetually ceded to the United States, with an implied but not necessarily stipulated American protectorate over the Islands.”

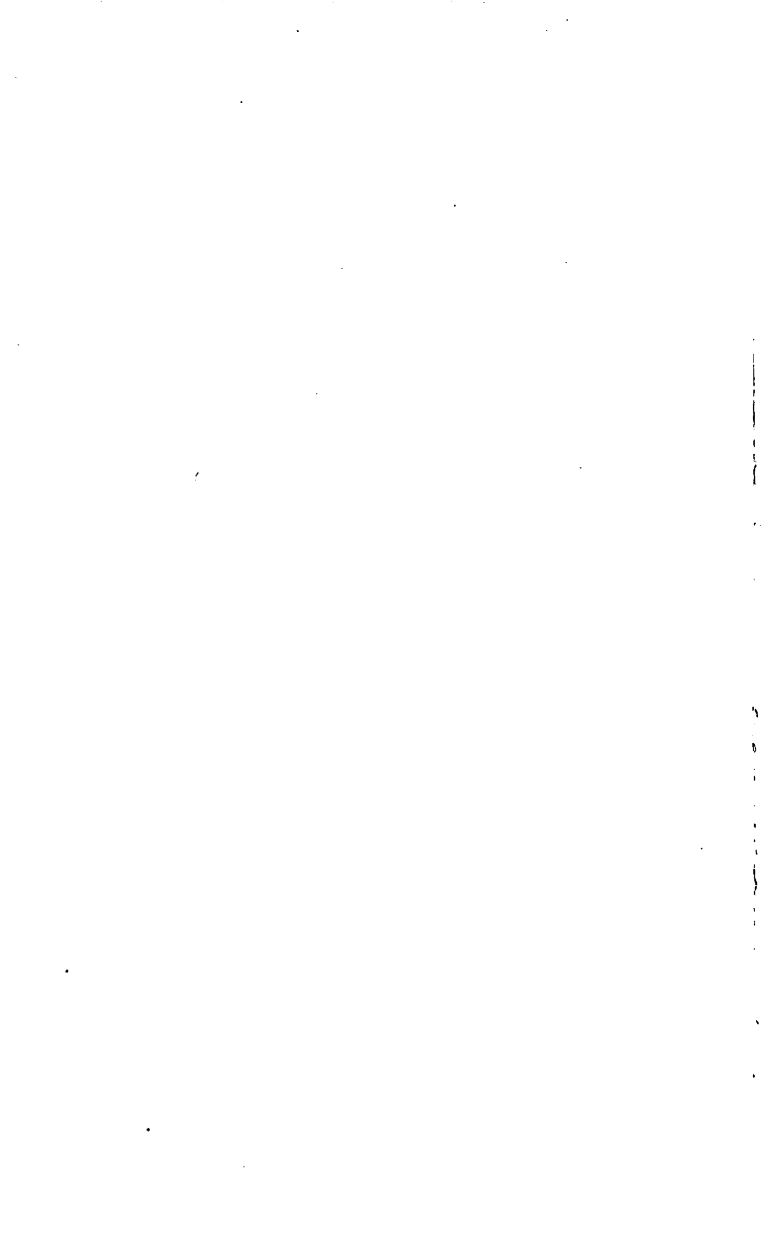
This suggestion by Minister Stevens of the



SANFORD B DOLE

PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF HAWAII

1894-1898



## ACCESSION OF LILIUOKALANI

approaching necessity of an ocean cable connecting the United States with the Hawaiian Islands was not the first occasion upon which such an undertaking had been officially commended. The desirability of such a measure had more than once been brought to the attention of Congress. The brief allusion of President Cleveland, in his message to the Forty-ninth Congress, to its desirability has already been quoted.\* Two years later, in his message to the Fiftieth Congress at the opening of its second session, in December, 1888, Mr. Cleveland urged attention to this important project in these words:—

“In the vast field of Oriental commerce now unfolded from our Pacific borders, no feature presents stronger recommendations for Congressional action than the establishment of communication by submarine telegraph with Honolulu. The geographical position of the Hawaiian group, in relation to our Pacific States, creates a natural interdependency and mutuality of interest, which our present treaties were intended to foster, and which make close communication a logical and commercial necessity.”

\* *Ante*, p. 152.



## AMERICA IN HAWAII

Mr. Harrison, who succeeded Mr. Cleveland in the Presidential chair, was equally gracious in his attitude toward Hawaii. Early in his administration he took occasion to recommend that the rank of the representative of the government of the United States at Honolulu be raised to that of envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary,— a recommendation which was adopted.

In his message to the Fifty-second Congress in its first session, in December, 1891, President Harrison informed Congress that surveys for the much-needed submarine cable, from the Pacific coast to Honolulu, were in progress, and urged that "this enterprise should have the suitable promotion of the two governments." At the same time he recommended that provision be made for the improvement of the harbor of Pearl River and for equipping it as a naval station. Again, at the opening of the second session of the Fifty-second Congress, in December, 1892, President Harrison called attention to the pressing need of the submarine cable.

"Our relations with Hawaii," said Mr. Harrison, "have been such as to attract an increased



## ACCESSION OF LILIUOKALANI

interest, and must continue to do so. I deem it of great importance that the projected submarine cable, a survey for which has been made, should be promoted. Both for naval and commercial uses, we should have quick communication with Honolulu. We should before this have availed ourselves of the concession made many years ago to this government for a harbor and naval station at Pearl River. Many evidences of the friendliness of the Hawaiian government have been given in the past, and it is gratifying to believe that the advantage and necessity of a continuance of very close relations is appreciated."

It is a peculiarity of our American disposition that the presence of an immediate and urgent necessity is often necessary to vigorous action. When necessity confronts us, our people never fail to meet it with enthusiasm ; but we are apt to move with the utmost caution in the performance of radical measures, when impelled only by the possibility of a future condition. Hence the urgent recommendation of more than one chief executive failed to arouse Congress to a full realization of the commercial and naval ne-

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

cessity of an American-Hawaiian cable, and applications for aid from promoters of the project met with but a cold reception. Equally somnolent was Congress in availing itself of the advantages of the Pearl Harbor session.



## CHAPTER XII.

### THE REVOLUTION OF 1893.

THE crisis in Hawaiian political affairs was now rapidly approaching. The correspondence of Minister Stevens with the Department of State, in the autumn of 1892, shows that an antagonism between the queen and the white residents was rising and acquiring strength. That she was desirous of assuming the power of an absolute monarch now seemed to them evident. The English party in the Islands perceived that the antagonism of the queen was directed mainly toward the American interests. A large proportion of the landed property in the city of Honolulu was now either owned absolutely or controlled in leaseholds by Americans. The agricultural interests throughout the Islands, now grown to large proportions, were also chiefly in the hands of Americans. The Princess Kaiulani was still at school in England; but in this autumn of 1892 her guardian, a wealthy Englishman, arrived in Honolulu. This gentleman, Mr. T. H. Davies, after accumulating a fortune through the operation of the sugar provisions of the treaty

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

of reciprocity, had returned to England. He now came back to the Islands, partially, it was presumed, to watch over the political interests of his ward, and partially in the capacity of agent for the Canadian Pacific Railroad, whose connecting steamers make Honolulu a port of call on their way to Australia and the Orient. These interests, added to the influence of Bishop Willis, the bishop of the Anglican Church in Honolulu, were all naturally opposed, not only to the steadily growing American sentiment, but to any movement that might point to a possible political union of the two countries. The tendency of the queen toward an assumption of absolute power was therefore encouraged by this state of affairs, as it was aimed more especially at the extinction of the influence of the United States.

In November, 1892, a heated and prolonged contest began between the queen and the legislature. As we have already seen, the cabinet of the late king was vacated by decision of the Supreme Court of the Islands. Determined, apparently, to carry her designs into effect, the queen sent to the legislature

## THE REVOLUTION OF 1893

the names of those whom she had selected to compose her new cabinet. Opposition was instantly aroused, for some of these names were of men held to be unfit for the positions to which they were nominated. Confirmation was refused by a decisive vote. A long struggle ensued, in which the legislature was finally victorious. List after list of names was rejected, until at last, wearied, perhaps, with her fruitless attempt, the queen submitted a list of names with which the majority of both opponents and adherents of the queen were satisfied. This ministry has been known since in the local political circles in the Islands as the Wilcox-Jones cabinet. The settlement was regarded as a triumph of the better elements among the citizens over the worse, and was especially considered to be a conquest of Americanism over the anti-American sentiment.

Notwithstanding this temporary victory for American influences, it was evident to all that the crisis was not over. So vigorous and so persistent was the queen in her efforts that intelligent people in the Islands, who were watching the trend of affairs, could

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

not fail to see that the conditions then present could not long prevail. That it was the intent of the queen to create a new constitution, in which should be embodied the most extreme of her political views, soon began to be openly asserted.

At this juncture, new plots and plans appeared. The infamous Louisiana lottery company, which had been driven out of the United States by the force of public sentiment, on the expiration of its charter, was seeking a foothold in Hawaii, whence it might still continue to flood the United States with its alluring circulars, and gather victims. At the same time the machinations of an extensive opium ring became apparent, one that had branches in Vancouver, San Francisco, Honolulu, and Hong Kong. These schemes were managed in a shrewd, unprincipled manner. Shares of stock in the lottery company were distributed to those members of the legislature who were deemed approachable; and an enormous annual gratuity was promised to be paid to the Hawaiian government, should a foothold be given to the company in the Islands. Large bribes were also

## THE REVOLUTION OF 1893

offered by the opium ring, which sought an exclusive franchise.

The sentiment of the more respectable element throughout the city was strongly antagonistic to the granting of these franchises ; and personal influence of the strongest character was brought to induce the queen to oppose them, but all in vain. Her influence was firmly in favor of the projects, and no expostulations served to deter her from her purpose. The opium and the lottery bills were passed, and received her signature.

And now was precipitated the crisis which for months had been rumored. It looked as if, as a compensation for her sympathy and co-operation with the promoters of the lottery and opium franchises, the queen was to be abetted in her long-cherished project of promulgating a new constitution. This instrument, as afterward was disclosed, would have placed American influence and the property of American citizens wholly at the mercy of the queen and her personal adherents. The time for this *coup* was well chosen. The United States cruiser *Boston*,

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

which was stationed at the Hawaiian Islands to guard American interests, had left its anchorage in the harbor of Honolulu early in January, 1893, for a practice cruise, and also to pay a visit at the port of Hilo, in the island Hawaii. Minister Stevens had gone as a passenger on the *Boston* for a brief absence.

At this juncture the queen announced her intention of abrogating the constitution of 1887, which she had sworn to uphold, and of establishing in its place another, cast by herself and framed to suit her most extreme views.

According to this proposed constitution the members of the house of nobles and of the council of State were to be appointed by the queen at will; and all white men, unless married to native women, were to be absolutely debarred from suffrage.

The city was instantly in a turmoil of excitement; and vigorous protests, both personal and political, were made against the proposed act. The queen had awakened in her native subjects an unwonted interest in affairs political by the assurance that the power was to be taken wholly from the

## THE REVOLUTION OF 1893

whites, and placed in the hands of herself and her native advisers. For the first time in the history of the Islands a race antagonism was created. Among the natives an enthusiasm was aroused for a return to the ancient native rule of the country. The queen was vigorously insisting that her ministry should unite with her in announcing the new constitution. They, however, shrank from the step, well knowing that it would with certainty precipitate revolt and perhaps bloodshed; and they warned her that to persist in her undertaking would be to imperil her sovereignty. But these remonstrances were of no avail, and the queen even resorted to threats to induce her ministers to yield.

The white population, alarmed at the persistence of the queen, and seeing that their liberties, their property, and perhaps their lives were imperilled, were on the verge of rebellion. Public meetings were held, and the situation was thoroughly discussed amid the wildest excitement.

At this alarming juncture the *Boston* re-entered the harbor, and Minister Stevens returned to his post. The queen, delayed in

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

her purpose by the reluctance of her ministers, was making an impassioned speech from the balcony of the palace to the crowd below. She denounced her ministers because, by their refusal to comply with her demands, they were crushing out the true spirit of the Hawaiian people. She was followed by two native adherents, who still more sought to inflame the passions of the native people, and who urged them to rise against their oppressors and slay them.

This outburst of the queen and her supporters was accompanied by a display of arms. The entire military force of the kingdom, augmented by the police of the city, was paraded through the streets, armed with repeating rifles and fully supplied with ammunition. Additional armed men, to the number of more than five hundred, were assembled at the police station and at the barracks, in readiness to carry into effect the queen's commands.

This was on Saturday afternoon, the 14th of January. A mass meeting of citizens was called, to convene on the afternoon of Monday, the 16th. Sunday was passed in out-



## THE REVOLUTION OF 1893

ward calm, but with inward apprehensions. All Honolulu felt that it was slumbering above a volcano upon the verge of action. On Monday a large number of citizens assembled; and vigorous protests against the proposed action of the queen were made, and were received by the assemblage with every evidence of approval. A "Committee of Public Safety" was appointed, of which the Hon. Henry E. Cooper, a Massachusetts man by birth and education, was named chairman. Other members of this committee were Andrew Brown, J. A. McCandless, Theodore F. Lansing, John Emmeluth, C. Bolte, Ed. Suhr, Henry Waterhouse, W. C. Wilder, F. W. McChesney, Lorrin A. Thurston, and William O. Smith. The meeting then adjourned amid great enthusiasm, every person present seeming determined to resist to the utmost the attempted aggressions upon their liberties.

At this juncture the queen, evidently alarmed at the opposition with which the disclosure of her plans was met, caused it to be announced that she would no longer insist upon the immediate promulgation of the new

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

constitution, but would defer it until her ministers could be induced to act in harmony with her. A proclamation addressed to her native subjects in their own language was posted in the streets, in which document the queen asserted that she had been unable to give them the proposed constitution, through the recalcitrance of her ministers, admonishing them to be patient, and assuring them that she would soon give them a constitution which should fulfil all their desires.

This proclamation served to neutralize any effect which the protestations of the queen might otherwise have had. The declaration of the queen of her intention to disregard the constitution which she had sworn to support was claimed to be equivalent to an abdication of her sovereignty. The Committee of Public Safety called upon the heads of departments in the government, and demanded their resignations. These were given without question, and the archives and government buildings and offices were surrendered to the representatives of the committee.

Thus far the revolution — for the movement had assumed this phase — had proceeded

## THE REVOLUTION OF 1893

peacefully ; but it was feared that it could not end without riot and consequent bloodshed and incendiarism. The police station, with its civil force, was still nominally under the queen's control. Still, no effort was made by her to employ this power either to protect the city or to maintain her authority. Night was now coming, and incendiarism was beginning. In various quarters of the city were heard the rattle of the fire-engines and the shouts of the firemen. The condition was now almost one of anarchy. The queen had abandoned the palace, and had retired, with a few adherents, to her private residence in Washington Place. A general state of terror prevailed ; and many of the white residents, with their wives and children, were hastening toward the mountains, which form the background of the city. No one could predict the extent to which this condition of affairs would spread. Fearing the destruction of the city, many appeals were made by anxious men and women, to the Committee of Public Safety, for the protection of the naval force of the United States. The queen had apparently abandoned all attempt to

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

maintain tranquillity, and to the Committee of Safety alone could the citizens look for protection. To it alone, under the circumstances then existing, with the archives and property of the kingdom in its control, could the representatives of foreign governments in Hawaii look, as the *de facto* ruler. The committee felt that the moment had arrived when it might properly call upon the power of the United States to protect the property and lives of its citizens, undoubtedly in jeopardy. Twice already, in the history of the Islands, in times of public disturbance had the naval force of the United States been called upon for this same purpose. Up to this time the minister of the United States — although, doubtless, watching the proceedings with painful anxiety — had refrained from interference, either actively or even with the offer of advice. The Committee of Public Safety now turned to him, as the representative of its nearest friend in the family of nations, and formally asked his aid in preventing riot and in protecting life and property.

Minister Stevens willingly responded, and sent a note to Captain G. C. Wiltse, com-

## THE REVOLUTION OF 1893

manding the *Boston*, requesting him to land a force of marines and sailors from his ship to protect the United States legation and consulate, and to secure the safety of American citizens and their property.

The request of the American minister was complied with ; and a force, divided into three squads, was landed from the *Boston*. The legation and the consulate were guarded by two of these ; while the third was lodged in a public hall, near the centre of the city, whence it might easily reach any point where its services might be needed. Care was taken, in disposing these guards, to use as little ostentation as possible. At Arion Hall, where was posted the third squad, the men were enjoined to keep in the building, a single sentry at the door being the sole evidence of their presence.

The landing of the troops produced a quieting effect upon the streets and homes of Honolulu. The fear of riot and possible loss of life was removed, and the people slept in security.

The following day, Tuesday, January 17, in the presence of a great crowd, which filled

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

the space about the government building, the chairman of the Committee on Public Safety, Henry E. Cooper, formally proclaimed the abrogation of the ancient Hawaiian monarchy, and the establishment of a provisional government "for the control and management of public affairs and the protection of the public peace, . . . to exist until terms of union with the United States of America" should be negotiated and agreed upon.

The police station and the civil forces of the kingdom were now peaceably surrendered, upon the demand of the Committee of Public Safety; and the queen's household guards surrendered their arms.

The revolution had been accomplished without the loss of a life, the monarchy had fallen, and the first active step toward the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands to the United States had been taken. Queen Liliuokalani registered her protest against her dethronement, charging also that she had been deprived of her sovereignty through the employment by the American minister of the armed forces of the United States. "Now, to avoid any collision of armed forces, and perhaps loss of

## THE REVOLUTION OF 1893

life," the queen's protest concluded, "I do, under this protest, and impelled by said force, yield my authority until such time as the government of the United States shall, upon the facts being presented to it, undo the action of its representative, and reinstate me in the authority which I claim, as the constitutional sovereign of the Hawaiian Islands."

The queen, having thus provisionally abdicated her throne, and the Provisional Government being now in full control of the buildings, archives, treasury, and military and civil forces of the late kingdom, the new government was formally recognized by the representatives in Honolulu of the United States, Germany, Austro-Hungary, Italy, Russia, Spain, the Netherlands, Denmark, Belgium, Mexico, Chile, Peru, and China. The recognition of the new government by the British and French representatives was delayed for a considerable space of time, but was at last given.

The Provisional Government thus constituted despatched a commission by special steamer to San Francisco, and thence to Washington, with full powers to negotiate a treaty

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

of annexation with the United States. This commission was composed of Lorrin A. Thurston, W. C. Wilder, William R. Castle, Charles L. Carter, and Joseph Marsden. Its members proceeded at once to Washington, and, arriving there on the third day of February, 1893, presented their credentials to President Harrison. In connection with Secretary of State Foster, they began drafting a treaty of annexation. By the terms of this treaty, all lands and buildings and other public property of the Hawaiian Islands were ceded to the United States, the Hawaiian public debt was assumed by the United States; the ex-queen was to be paid an annual pension of twenty thousand dollars, and the heir apparent, the Princess Kaiulani, was to receive a sum of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars in satisfaction of her claims to the throne. These concessions to fallen royalty were to be made on condition of an unhesitating and continuous acquiescence in the abrogation of the monarchy and the annexation of the Islands to the United States.

A commissioner from the ex-queen, Paul Neumann, had followed the commissioners of



## THE REVOLUTION OF 1893 .

the Provisional Government to Washington, and there had entered the queen's protest against the proceedings. In disregard of this protest the act of Mr. Stevens in recognizing the Provisional Government as the *de facto* government of the Islands was confirmed.

It was reported and believed by many that Mr. Neumann's errand at Washington was chiefly to secure for the ex-queen, in the event of failing to obtain her restoration, as large a pecuniary indemnity as possible. There is authority for the statement that a full power of attorney was given by Queen Liliuokalani to Mr. Neumann, by which he was authorized, in his discretion, to release all claims in her behalf upon satisfactory settlement being made.

After the departure of the commissioners for Washington, at the request of the Provisional Government, Minister Stevens performed a radical and, in the estimation of some, an unwarrantable act. The representatives at Honolulu of Great Britain and France, as already stated, delayed the recognition of the new government; and fears were felt that, in view of the historic jeal-

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

ousy of those two nations of American influence, resort might be had to some *coup d'état* for the reversal of the revolution.

The unsettled political condition of the country might be made the pretext for such interference. Hence, to avert such a possibility, the request was made of Minister Stevens, by the Provisional Government, that a qualified American protectorate should be declared. To this Mr. Stevens agreed, but subject to the final action of the authorities at Washington. Such a protectorate was accordingly declared, and the flag of the United States was substituted for that of Hawaii above the government buildings in Honolulu. Almost immediately after this the British war vessel *Garnet* entered the harbor, and her stay increased the tension. Her officers openly neglected to pay the usual courtesies to the head of the government, and consorted with members of the royalist party. Frequent personal encounters occurred between members of the British and American crews, in the city streets. It was at length rumored that an armed force was to be landed from the *Garnet*, and the British flag raised above

## THE REVOLUTION OF 1893

the palace. The public buildings and grounds were placed in a state of defence; but no overt act was committed, although these events were a long-continued cause of apprehension throughout the city.

## CHAPTER XIII.

### THE FRUIT RIPENS.

It is unquestionably true that the Hon. Thomas F. Bayard, Secretary of State during President Cleveland's first administration, had a warm interest in the Hawaiian Islands, and looked forward to the day when, by the increase of American commerce with and of American interest in the Islands, they should, by a natural process, become absorbed into the American Republic. In 1887, while Secretary of State, he advocated prolonging the life of the treaty of reciprocity. "The reasons for the treaty of 1875," he wrote to the American minister at Honolulu, "exist to-day in increased and still growing force. . . . The safety and welfare of the Hawaiian group are obviously more interesting and important to the United States than to any other nation, and for that reason our ties of intercourse and amity should be cherished." That, in his own mind, Mr. Bayard went even farther than this official utterance; and that he was regarding the annexation of the Islands to the United States as a wished-for and possibly not a far-distant event is shown by a

## THE FRUIT RIPENS

personal utterance ten years later. In February, 1897, after his recall as envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the Court at St. James, Mr. Bayard freely discussed—in an interview published in the *Philadelphia Ledger*—the object and intent of these treaties. “It was my idea,” said Mr. Bayard, “that the policy originating in the Fish treaty of the Grant administration in 1875 should be permitted to work out its proper results. The obvious course was to wait quietly and patiently, and let the Islands fill up with American planters and American industries, until they should be wholly identified in business interests and political sympathies with the United States. It was simply a matter of waiting until the apple should ripen and fall. Unfortunately, nothing was done by Congress in pursuance of this easy, legitimate, and perfectly feasible process of acquisition.”

Mr. Bayard, in these remarks, but voiced the sentiment which, by a study of the preceding narrative, it must be seen, had pervaded our government since the appointment of Mr. Jones, in the year 1820, to reside at

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

the Islands in the capacity of "agent of the United States for commerce and seamen." It was a sentiment which every administration had recognized and adopted, from President Monroe to President McKinley, save only that administration in which Mr. Bayard himself had occupied a position.

It is not, perhaps, to be regarded as a cause of wonderment, then, that Minister Stevens saw, as he fully believed, a rapidly approaching fruition after more than seventy years of careful nurture. He had seen the long-continued corruption that had centred about the palace. He had seen the attempts of the queen to put the reins of power into hands regarded as unworthy. He had seen her efforts to force upon the country measures which must, by their results, hold up her country to the scorn of Christian civilization. He had seen the dark storm-cloud which was rapidly gathering about the Hawaiian throne. As an onlooker, painfully interested in the outcome, he feared for the effect upon the interests of his countrymen of the cloud-burst which he well knew must come. The correspondence of Mr. Stevens, carefully pre-

## THE FRUIT RIPENS

served in the archives of the Department of State, show that for more than a year he had foreseen the inevitable result of the trend of affairs. When, therefore, the crisis had come and the monarchy had fallen, who would not have thought that the hour had at last arrived to which Mr. Bayard and his predecessors in office had looked forward with such confidence? "Language can hardly express the enthusiasm," wrote Minister Stevens, in formally notifying the Department of State of the revolution, "and the profound feeling of relief at this peaceable and salutary change of government. The underlying cause of this profound feeling among the citizens is the hope that the United States government will allow these Islands to pass to American control and become American soil." Again a little later he wrote, employing a simile whose aptness so appealed to ex-Secretary Bayard that he himself adopted it, in his remarks already quoted. "The Hawaiian pear," wrote Minister Stevens, "is now fully ripe; and this is the golden hour for the United States to pluck it. If annexation does not take place promptly, and all is held in

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

doubt and suspense for six or ten months, there certainly will be a revulsion to despair; and these people, by their necessities, might be forced toward becoming a British colony."

"It has been the policy of the administration," said President Harrison, in transmitting to the Senate the completed treaty of annexation, "not only to respect, but to encourage the continuance of an independent government in the Hawaiian Islands, so long as it afforded suitable guarantees for the protection of life and property, and maintained a stability and strength that gave adequate security against the domination of any other power. The moral support of this government has continually manifested itself in the most friendly diplomatic relations, and in many acts of courtesy to the Hawaiian rulers. The overthrow of the monarchy was not in any way promoted by this government, but had its origin in what seems to have been a reactionary and revolutionary policy on the part of Queen Liliuokalani, which put in serious peril not only the large and preponderating interests of the United States in the Islands, but all foreign inter-



## THE FRUIT RIPENS

ests, and, indeed, the decent administration of civil affairs and the peace of the Islands.

"It is quite evident that the monarchy had become effete, and the queen's government so weak and inadequate as to be the prey of designing and unscrupulous persons. The restoration of Queen Liliuokalani to her throne is undesirable, if not impossible, and, unless actively supported by the United States, would be accompanied by serious disaster and the disorganization of all business interests. The influence and interest of the United States in the Islands must be increased, and not diminished. Only two courses are now open,—one the establishment of a protectorate by the United States, and the other annexation full and complete. I think the latter course, which has been adopted in the treaty, will be highly promotive of the best interests of the Hawaiian people, and is the only one that will adequately secure the interests of the United States. These interests are not wholly selfish. It is essential that none of the other great powers shall secure these Islands. Such a possession would not consist with our safety and with the peace of the world."

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

It was on the fifteenth day of February, 1893, that President Harrison submitted the draft of this treaty to the Senate for ratification. The Provisional Government of the Hawaiian Islands had then been in full control of the affairs of the Islands for a month. But seventeen days remained of the administration of President Harrison, at the expiration of which time President Cleveland, for the second time, was to assume control.

A few days after the inauguration of President Cleveland, at the opening of his second term, Minister Stevens forwarded his resignation to Washington. He continued, however, to occupy his official position until relieved by his successor. On the fifteenth day of March he wrote to Secretary of State Gresham, explaining in detail the operation of the provisional protectorate over the Islands. In a despatch to Minister Stevens, transmitted upon receiving notice of the declaration of the provisional protectorate and the raising of the flag over the government building at Honolulu, Secretary Foster had written:—

“ So far as your action amounts to accord-

## . THE FRUIT RIPENS

ing, at the request of the *de facto* sovereign government of the Hawaiian Islands, the co-operation of the moral and material forces of the United States, for the protection of life and property from apprehended disorders, your action is commended. But, so far as it may appear to overstep that limit, by setting the authority and power of the United States above that of the government of the Hawaiian Islands, in the capacity of protector, or to impair in any way the independent sovereignty of the Hawaiian government by substituting the flag and power of the United States as the symbol and manifestation of paramount authority, it is disavowed."

To this despatch Minister Stevens had replied in these words: "The raising of the United States flag over the government building continues to have a pacifying influence. The qualified United States protectorate, which has been temporarily assumed at the request of the Provisional Government, is being exercised with caution and reservation, in no way interfering with Hawaiian sovereignty, nor with the administration of Hawaiian public affairs by the duly constituted

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

authorities. My understanding of the spirit and terms of our temporary protectorate is in entire accord with the spirit and terms of the Secretary of State's despatch to me."

"There is every reason to believe," wrote Minister Stevens to Secretary Gresham, "that, had not the United States flag been raised over the Hawaiian government building, and American protection thus secured, it was the intention of the Japanese commissioner to have demanded and asserted the right of landing Japanese forces from the *Naniwa* and the *Kongo*, and thus to have placed Japanese officials here on equal footing with the representatives of the United States, thus establishing a dual arrangement and protection in Hawaiian affairs."

Such, then, was the condition of affairs when President Harrison closed his term of office and the reins of power fell into the hands of President Cleveland. The last hours of Congress had been so crowded with the despatch of important business that no opportunity had been found for the full consideration of the Hawaiian treaty of annexation by the Senate. Simultaneously with the

## THE FRUIT RIPENS

inauguration of the new President the Senate was convened in extra session. One of the first official acts of President Cleveland was to withdraw the Hawaiian treaty from its consideration, for his own examination. Finding a disparity of statement between that of President Harrison, that "the overthrow of the monarchy was not in any way promoted by this government," and that of the ex-queen, who, in her protest, had fairly charged that the throne had been wrested from her by act of the forces of the United States, Mr. Cleveland, to employ his own words, "conceived it to be my [his] duty to cause an accurate, full, and impartial investigation to be made of the facts attending the subversion of the constitutional government of Hawaii, and the instalment in its place of the Provisional Government."

In pursuance of this plan Mr. Cleveland appointed the Hon. James H. Blount, of Georgia, as a special commissioner of the President, to report to him concerning the status of affairs in Hawaii. In Mr. Blount's credentials, addressed to "His Excellency Sanford B. Dole, president of the executive and advisory coun-

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

cils of the Provisional Government of the Hawaiian Islands," the special commissioner's authority "in all matters affecting relations with the government of the Hawaiian Islands" was declared to be "paramount." His instructions issued by the Department of State declared: "Your authority in all matters touching the relations of this government to the existing or other government of the Islands, and the protection of our citizens therein, is paramount, and in you alone, acting in co-operation with the commander of the naval forces, is vested full discretion and power to determine when such forces should be landed or withdrawn." He was authorized to avail himself of such aid and information as he might desire from the minister of the United States, then at Honolulu, who, Mr. Blount was informed, would continue until further notice to exercise those functions of his office not inconsistent with the powers intrusted to the commissioner.

Mr. Blount's appointment was not submitted to the Senate for its confirmation or rejection, the commissioner being thus sent out as Mr. Cleveland's personal representative,

## THE FRUIT RIPENS

although endowed with many of the powers usually vested in an envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary, the powers of the actual minister at Honolulu being correspondingly subordinated.

The special commissioner thus sent out arrived at Honolulu on the twenty-ninth day of March, 1893. On the second day after his arrival he made use of the power invested in him to issue an order to Rear-Admiral J. S. Skerrett, commanding the Pacific squadron, "to haul down the United States ensign from the government building and to embark the troops on shore to the ships to which they belong." This was done on the morning of the next day; and the flag of the United States, which had floated above the Islands for more than two months, was hauled down and the Hawaiian flag restored to its former place. The incident occurred with little popular demonstration, either of approval or of regret.

Commissioner Blount remained at Honolulu for several weeks, engaged in investigating the condition of affairs in the Islands and in holding interviews with various people.

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

During this visit the commissioner reported frequently to the Secretary of State, his published letters being exceedingly voluminous. Their tone in general was hostile to the Provisional Government, and indicative of sympathy toward the ex-queen. It has been constantly claimed by the friends of the Provisional Government that Mr. Blount, throughout his investigation, sought information solely from the adherents of the ex-queen, and that all offers from friends of the Provisional Government to assist him in his researches were studiously declined.

In his final report, Commissioner Blount gave a brief but comprehensive *résumé* of Hawaiian political history ; a statement of the circumstances attending the revolution of January 17, written from a position of antagonism to the revolutionary party ; and a mass of information relating to the population and industries of the Islands.

During Mr. Blount's stay, Minister Stevens was relieved from duty and Mr. Blount was appointed to the vacant position. He, however, declined to accept the honor ; and, upon the conclusion of the work to which he was



## THE FRUIT RIPENS

assigned, he returned to the United States. The Hon. Albert S. Willis was appointed to the office of minister in October, 1893, and at once left for his post of duty.

## CHAPTER XIV.

### ATTEMPT AT RESTORATION.

THE publication of the report of Minister Blount, which closely followed the intelligence that the American ensign had been hauled down at Honolulu, excited great interest throughout our country, and called forth much acrimonious discussion. This was not lessened by a message on December 18, 1893, from President Cleveland to Congress, in which the matter was thoroughly reviewed and discussed. In this message there was an imputation of moral obliquity against Minister Stevens in the conduct of the affairs of his office, so far as they related to the overthrow of the queen and the establishment of the Provisional Government. "The lawful government of Hawaii," he declared, "was overthrown without the drawing of a sword or the firing of a shot, by a process every step of which, it may safely be asserted, is directly traceable to and dependent for its safety upon the agency of the United States, acting through its diplomatic and naval representatives. . . . Believing, therefore, that the United States could not, under the circum-

## ATTEMPT AT RESTORATION

stances disclosed, annex the Islands without justly incurring the imputation of acquiring them by unjustifiable methods, I shall not again submit the treaty of annexation to the Senate for its consideration."

This attitude assumed by President Cleveland produced a discussion more bitter than any since the famous electoral contest of 1876. Instantly the country was divided into two parties upon the question, the lines drawn closely following the lines of the two great political parties. The adherents of President Cleveland and of his policy applauded warmly the high moral ground which they felt that he had assumed. His opponents as firmly asserted that this assumption was a pretence, that his true motive was one of jealousy of his predecessor, and his object to discredit one of the last and most important acts of President Harrison and to hold him and his minister at Honolulu up to public obloquy. It was also freely asserted that Secretary of State Gresham, who warmly approved the attitude of his chief, had similar political reasons for his position.

To attempt to decide the truth in this re-

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

markable discussion is no part of the duty of the present writer. It must be left to the historian of half a century hence, while to-day the record is simply made for his future guidance. This discussion served to create what was, for the next five years, to be known as the "Hawaiian Question,"—a question which, if it did not serve to create a strong dividing line between political parties, at least did become an important factor in the Presidential contest of 1896.

Mr. Willis arrived at Honolulu on the 4th of November, 1893, and three days later presented his credentials to President Dole, the chief executive of the Provisional Government. It was no light task to which Mr. Willis had been assigned. Personally, a gentleman of the highest character, he found himself accredited as minister to a government toward which the government of the United States nominally bore friendly relations, but yet one which, in the estimation of the President of the United States, was in itself a gross usurpation,—a government with no right of existence, a government which the new minister was instructed to overthrow, if possible.

## ATTEMPT AT RESTORATION

“On your arrival at Honolulu,” read Mr. Gresham’s private instructions to Mr. Willis, “you will take advantage of an early opportunity to inform the queen of this determination [of President Cleveland to withdraw the treaty of annexation from the consideration of the Senate], making known to her the President’s sincere regret that the reprehensible conduct of the American minister, and the unauthorized presence on land of a military force of the United States, obliged her to surrender her sovereignty for the time being, and rely on the justice of this government to undo the flagrant wrong. You will, however, at the same time inform the queen that, when reinstated, the President expects that she will pursue a magnanimous course by granting full amnesty to all who participated in the movement against her, including persons who are or have been, officially or otherwise, connected with the Provisional Government, depriving them of no right or privilege which they enjoyed before the so-called revolution. All obligations created by the Provisional Government, in due course of administration, should be assumed.

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

“Having secured the queen’s agreement to pursue this wise and humane policy, which it is believed you will speedily obtain, you will then advise the executive of the Provisional Government and his ministers of the President’s determination of the question, which their action and that of the queen devolved upon him, and that they are expected to promptly relinquish to her her constitutional authority.”

Nine days after the arrival of Minister Willis at Honolulu, at his invitation the ex-queen, accompanied by her former chamberlain, visited him at the United States legation. The minister received her alone, and communicated to her the desire of the President, substantially as he was instructed by the Secretary of State. There followed a very remarkable conversation as it is reported to the government at Washington by Minister Willis.

“Should you be restored to the throne,” inquired the American minister, “would you grant full amnesty as to life and property to all those persons who have been or who are now in the Provisional Government, or who

## ATTEMPT AT RESTORATION

have been instrumental in the overthrow of your government?"

The ex-queen hesitated a moment, and then slowly and calmly answered:—

"There are certain laws of my government by which I shall abide. My decision would be, as the law directs, that such persons should be beheaded and their property confiscated to the government."

Minister Willis replied, repeating distinctly her words, "It is your feeling that these people should be beheaded and their property confiscated?"

The ex-queen answered, "It is."

Minister Willis then inquired if she fully understood all that they both had said, and if, having understood it, she was still of the same opinion.

"I have understood and mean all I have said," she replied, "but I might leave the decision of this to my ministers." But on a query as to whether she would issue a proclamation of general amnesty, pending the appointment of her ministry, she declared: "I have no legal right to do that, and I would not do it. These people," she continued, "were

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

the cause of the revolution and the constitution of 1887. There will never be any peace while they are here. They must be sent out of the country and their property confiscated."

The interview here ended, Minister Willis promising to convey a statement of her attitude to his government and to deliver to her its reply.

The tension of feeling was now intense in Honolulu. It was the popular belief that Minister Willis had instructions to restore the queen's authority and to employ the forces of the United States to accomplish that end. In the midst of this excitement a letter of Secretary Gresham, addressed to President Cleveland, commenting upon the report of Commissioner Blount, which letter had been the basis of President Cleveland's message to Congress, was made public, and reached the Islands. When this was read, the excitement, already great, was much increased. Especially significant were the words of the Secretary of State, in which he inquired of the President: "Should not the great wrong done to a feeble but independent state, by an



## ATTEMPT AT RESTORATION

abuse of the authority of the United States, be undone by restoring the legitimate government? Anything short of that I submit, will not satisfy the demands of justice."

A public meeting was called in the drillshed of Honolulu, at which the action of Secretary Gresham was loudly denounced. A protest of the American residents, numerous signed, was filed with Minister Willis, declaring that "any such acts of war or hostility, if taken, attempted, or announced in the time of profound peace now existing between the United States and the Hawaiian Islands, or without any full, formal, and timely announcement thereof, will and would cause all concerned in authorizing the same to be held responsible for all the consequences that may ensue therefrom, not only before Almighty God and in the forum of conscience, but by all sanctioned rules and observances of civilized nations in their dealing with each other, and will and would be in violation of the rights of the undersigned, secured and belonging to them as citizens of the United States of America."

There was great apprehension in the city.

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

Barricades of sand bags were placed about the government buildings and offices, and preparations were made for defence. All the available arms in the city were brought into requisition, and were distributed among those who were willing to aid in the public defence. Boys and even women were armed with revolvers, and private houses as well as public buildings were securely guarded day and night. The permission granted by the Provisional Government to the American warship in the harbor, to land troops for the purpose of drill, was formally withdrawn. A note addressed by Mr. Dole to Minister Willis, calling attention to Secretary Gresham's letter, and inquiring if the government of the United States designed to employ force to restore the queen, received only an evasive reply.

In the mean time Minister Willis was in frequent communication with the ex-queen, and her next friend, Mr. J. O. Carter. In these interviews he endeavored to induce her to modify the harshness of her intentions in case of her restoration. One point after another was yielded. The queen first con-

## ATTEMPT AT RESTORATION

sented to withdraw her declaration that those who had been chiefly instrumental in her overthrow should be beheaded. After granting this, she still insisted that they must be banished with their families, and that their property be confiscated. This point was for some days insisted upon, despite the urgent representations of the minister that a full amnesty was the only condition on which the President would act in her behalf. Next she yielded the point of banishment, but still insisted on the confiscation of property.

At length, however, after many more consultations with Minister Willis, on the 18th of December, 1893, the ex-queen addressed a letter to him in these words:—

“I must not feel vengeful to any of my people. If I am restored by the United States, I must forget myself, and remember only my dear people and my country. I must forgive and forget the past, permitting no proscription or punishment of any one, but trusting that all will hereafter work together, in peace and friendship, for the good and for the glory of our beautiful and

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

once happy land. Asking you to bear to the President and to the government he represents a message of gratitude from me and from my people, and promising, with God's grace, to prove worthy of the confidence and friendship of your people, I am, etc.,

“LILIUOKALANI.”

Enclosed in this note to the American minister was a solemn engagement, signed by the ex-queen, that, if reinstated as the constitutional sovereign of the Hawaiian Islands, she would at once proclaim, unconditionally and without reserve, a full pardon and amnesty to all those who had participated in the revolution of January 17.

The conditions imposed by the President, as a prerequisite to his good offices, having now been fully met, Minister Willis proceeded to the exercise of the extreme power vested in him. Upon the same day on which ex-Queen Liliuokalani had signed her agreement, Mr. Dole addressed a note to Minister Willis, stating that he had been informed that the American minister was in communication with Liliuokalani, the ex-queen, with

## ATTEMPT AT RESTORATION

a view of re-establishing the monarchy in the Hawaiian Islands, and demanding whether the minister was acting in any way hostile to the government to which he was accredited.

To this note Minister Willis made no direct reply, and, indeed, no reply whatever until the following day. On that day he forwarded to the Provisional Government a document, in which the declaration was made that the President of the United States was convinced that the overthrow of the queen's government had been accomplished, "if not instigated, encouraged and supported by the representative of" the United States government at Honolulu, and that it was accomplished mainly through the employment of the forces of the United States. The document ended with a formal demand upon the Provisional Government, in the name of the President of the United States, that it should promptly relinquish to the former queen her authority as the constitutional sovereign of the Hawaiian Islands.

At midnight on the twenty-third day of December, 1893, the reply of the Provisional Government to this demand was presented.

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

This reply, after reviewing the political situation which had prevailed in the Islands for nearly a year past, declared that the matter in dispute between the Provisional Government of the Hawaiian Islands and the former sovereign had never been submitted to the President of the United States for his arbitration, and that no power lay in the President or the government of the United States to interfere in the domestic affairs of the Hawaiian Islands; furthermore, that, if the fact existed, which was denied, that the revolution of January 17 was effected by the assistance of American arms, that matter was a question of discipline between the United States and its officials and employees, and not a question between it and the *de facto* government of the Islands. The reply closed with a respectful but firm refusal to entertain the proposition that the Provisional Government should relinquish its authority to the former queen.

Mr. Willis had been instructed by the Secretary of State, in a despatch sent on the 3d of December, that the queen should be informed that the President of the United States cannot use force without the authority

## ATTEMPT AT RESTORATION

of Congress, the inference being that such authority had not been given. No intimation of these instructions was conveyed to the Provisional Government, either in the formal demand for the surrender of the island sovereignty or in response to letters of inquiry upon this point addressed by the Provisional Government to Minister Willis. There was great apprehension, therefore, throughout the city when the demand of Minister Willis and the reply of the Provisional Government became known. Preparations for defence were redoubled. Many families prepared to remove with their effects to the mountains; and even application was made by many of the American residents to the foreign representatives, for their protection against anticipated invasion by the American forces. The condition of unrest may be best described by quoting from a letter from Mr. Dole to Minister Willis, on the twenty-seventh day of December, 1893, while yet the future course of the United States remained an uncertainty: —

“In consequence of your attitude in this behalf,” wrote President Dole, “the enemies of the government, believing in your inten-

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

tions to restore the monarchy by force, have become emboldened. Threats of assassination of the officers of this government have been made. The police force is frequently informed of conspiracies to create disorder. Aged and sick persons, of all nationalities, have been and are in a state of distress and anxiety. Children in the schools are agitated by the fear of political disturbances. The wives, sisters, and daughters of residents, including many Americans, have been in daily apprehension of civic disorder, many of them having even armed themselves in preparation therefor. Citizens have made preparation in their homes for defence against assaults, which may arise directly or indirectly from such conflict. Persons have begun to pack their valuables with a view of immediate departure. Large quantities of bandages have been prepared. Unprotected women have received the promise of asylum from the Japanese representative, against possible disturbance arising in consequence of American invasion. Rumors of the intended landing of your forces for offensive purposes have agitated the community for many days. The



## ATTEMPT AT RESTORATION

situation for weeks has been one of warfare, without the incident of actual combat. Even the ex-queen has called upon this government for protection, which was awarded to her. Owing to your attitude, the government has been compelled by public apprehension to largely increase its military force, at great expense. Its offices have been placed and still continue in a condition of defence and preparation for siege, and the community has been put into a state of mind bordering on terrorism."

To this forcible protest Minister Willis returned an evasive answer, giving no information about the purpose of his government in the matter of using force, but demanding that the charges contained in the protest be set forth "with more particularity and certainty."

Finally, this state of terror culminated in a day when, in the belief of nearly every person in Honolulu, the forces of the United States were to be landed to carry out the mandates of the President. The United States revenue cutter *Corwin* had arrived in the harbor, bearing despatches to the American

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

minister. The following day the troops on board of the United States steamships *Philadelphia* and *Adams*, then lying in the harbor, were beaten to arms. Landing parties were drawn up on the decks in full view of the people on the shore. The drums rolled, and bayonets flashed in the sunlight. The look-outs upon the house-tops, watching the ships with their glasses, could see distinctly the movements of the marines, as they loaded their rifles and adjusted their cartridge belts; and clear and distinct came across the water the sharp commands of the officers. On shore all was expectancy and resolution. The regular forces of the Hawaiian government were mustered under arms. The police force was ready. The citizens armed themselves, each one as he was able. Two Gatling guns were dragged to the wharf, and trained upon the ships of the United States.

At this juncture an officer's gig was seen to put out from the ship, rowed by four sailors. In the stern was seated a junior officer of the United States navy. Coolly and calmly, and apparently oblivious of all the excitement, he headed his boat toward

## ATTEMPT AT RESTORATION

the shore, landed, made his way through the throng upon the wharf, and passed along the crowded streets of the city to the dwelling of a prominent citizen and one of those most closely in touch with the interests of the Provisional Government.

Alone with his host, the officer, to the surprise of the first, introduced the subject uppermost in the minds of all, and in allusion to the situation of the hour remarked : —

“We have not yet received our final orders, and we do not know whether or not we shall receive orders to land and place the queen on the throne by force. We of the navy have no desire, of ourselves, to cause bloodshed. I perceive that you are well prepared to resist an attempt on our part to land. I think that, if such orders shall be issued to us, and our boats, with armed marines, shall put out from the ship, if you should fire a charge over our heads, we should be obliged to put back and abandon our purpose.”

The officer then took his leave, and returned to his ship and the host, perceiving that the warlike preparations of the *Philadel-*

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

*phia* and *Adams* were a feint, at once repeated this conversation to President Dole, by telephone. That official ordered his defensive forces everywhere to keep their positions and stand firm. After a short time more the crisis passed, the troops drawn up on the decks of the war-ships were quietly dispersed, and for the first time in many days the people of Honolulu went to sleep that night peacefully in their beds.

A few days later came the news that President Cleveland, on learning of the firm refusal of the Provisional Government to surrender the sovereignty of the Islands back to the queen, had abandoned his endeavor, and had referred the entire matter to Congress.

## CHAPTER XV.

### ANNEXATION.

THE attitude assumed by President Cleveland in the Hawaiian matter did not, upon the whole, find approval in the United States. The discussion, in general, was divided upon party lines. There were those, it is true, in the Republican party, who, being opposed to any further extension of our territorial boundaries, heartily approved his position, while there were others in his own party who, without regard to the question of annexation, as heartily disapproved of the attempt to abrogate the Provisional Government and restore the fallen queen. Whether Minister Willis received actual orders from Washington to attempt to carry his instructions by that display of arms, or whether that feint was a plan of his own device, no one will perhaps ever know. A diligent search of the archives of the State Department fails to disclose copies of any secret instructions issued to Minister Willis to that effect. If any such instructions were issued, no record of them has been preserved.\*

\* A letter from Assistant Secretary of State Moore to the author establishes this fact.

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

It soon now became known that President Cleveland, before receiving the complete acquiescence of the ex-queen to his conditions, had commended "this subject to the extended powers and wide discretion of the Congress." And from this time on the President appears to have relinquished all active interest in the control of the relations between the United States and the Hawaiian Islands, and contented himself with simply transmitting to Congress from time to time the routine correspondence between the Secretary of State and his minister.

The relations of Minister Willis with the Hawaiian government, naturally, were greatly strained. In his strictly diplomatic relation, Mr. Willis had unquestionably engaged in plots against the government to which he was accredited. And yet his consultations with the ex-queen, directly and through her friend, were not his personal acts, but were held under specific instructions from his government. This fact, although well known in the city did not serve to lift from the American minister the popular odium. Beyond doubt, according to diplomatic usage, the

## ANNEXATION

Hawaiian government would have been fully justified in demanding his recall, if not, indeed, in giving him a summary dismissal. It is probable, however, that it did not wish to exasperate the government at Washington by assuming too antagonistic an attitude. It was also evident that, were a change demanded, there could be no assurance that any more acceptable man would be sent by the administration then in power. And, so far as his personal characteristics were concerned, Minister Willis was perfectly acceptable.

It was, perhaps, unfortunate that Minister Willis should not have been at greater pains, now that the crisis was passed, to meet the members of the Hawaiian government upon their own ground, and assume the position in the social life of Honolulu to which his official position entitled him. In an extended letter addressed to him by Mr. Dole, in response to his demand for a statement of the particulars wherein the Provisional Government complained of his course since his arrival, Mr. Dole says:—

“During your nearly two months’ residence

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

in this city, you and your family have declined the customary social courtesies usually extended to those occupying your official position, on the specified ground that it was not deemed best under existing circumstances to accept such civilities." On the first anniversary of the formation of the Provisional Government, January 17, 1894, a formal invitation was sent to the American minister to be present at the public exercises. This was somewhat curtly declined. In consequence of this attitude taken by Mr. Willis, in addition to his open opposition in his official capacity to the existing government, a certain social ostracism was shown him and his family. Even after days and months had passed, and matters social and commercial in the Islands had once more become normal, this feeling of coolness but slightly wore away, and at no time were his relations with the people among whom he lived thoroughly cordial. His illness and death, however, which occurred during his term of office, and which were undoubtedly hastened by the weight of the mental burden he carried, served to smooth away much, if not all, of



## ANNEXATION

the feeling of personal antagonism toward him.

To the same degree did the relations of the Hawaiian minister at Washington, the Hon. L. A. Thurston, become strained. In this matter the accounts of Minister Thurston and Secretary Gresham fail to agree. The latter charged that the Hawaiian minister gave information regarding matters in Hawaii to the press, not having previously given the information in question to the Department of State. Mr. Thurston claimed that the information thus made public did not cover matters of diplomatic concern, but were purely domestic occurrences, in which the government of the United States was in no manner interested. He also claimed that deliberate social slights had been put upon him by the President and the Secretary of State, thus venting upon him personally the chagrin which they felt at the failure of their plans. Whatever may have been the cause of these strained relations, their outcome was a demand by President Cleveland for the recall of the minister. The letter of demand miscarried in the mails, and was sent to Japan

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

by an error of a postal clerk. In the mean time the fact that the minister's recall had been demanded became known at Washington. Minister Thurston thereupon withdrew from the legation and returned to Honolulu, placing his resignation in the hands of his government before the arrival of the letter in which his recall had been demanded.

Mr. Thurston almost immediately returned to Washington in the capacity of an agent of the Hawaiian government to promote annexation. His successor in the legation, the Hon. William R. Castle, and later the Hon. Francis M. Hatch, were received at Washington with courtesy; and the latter continued to receive all the social attentions which were due him until the accomplishment of annexation discontinued his position.

The Hawaiian people, convinced that annexation to the United States was now not an event of the immediate future, formed a permanent government, and established themselves as firmly as they could as a member of the family of nations. The republic was declared on the fourth day of July, 1894, and continued, though not in uninterrupted felicity, until the annexation.

## ANNEXATION

Meanwhile the "Hawaiian Question" was not forgotten at Washington. It is a matter of some significance that in the summer of 1894 a committee of royalists paid a visit to Washington, and endeavored to secure the co-operation of the government in a proposed uprising against the Hawaiian republic. Being informed that the United States would not interfere in the domestic affairs of Hawaii, the committee is said to have stated to Secretary Gresham that, if the United States war vessels should be recalled from Honolulu, the overthrow of the existing government by a sudden assault could be easily accomplished. The committee, on its return, bought arms and ammunition on the Pacific coast, and shipped them to the Islands.

The withdrawal of the naval force of the United States, by order of President Cleveland, occurred in July, 1894, notwithstanding the fear of Admiral Walker, then in command of the Pacific squadron, that evil results would follow. The *Champion*, a British war vessel, was left in the harbor; and the royalists and their English sympathizers were elated. The royalist faction openly asserted

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

that the withdrawal of the American naval force was for the purpose of affording a chance for a revolt.

The revolt came in January, 1895, and was promptly met and suppressed. This revolt, the trial, the imprisonment in her own apartments of the ex-queen, and her subsequent abdication, constitute a story of Hawaiian history, picturesque and vigorous, but not closely connected with the history of American influence in the Islands.

The action of President Cleveland in the Hawaiian matter resulted in an exhaustive investigation by the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs, of which Senator Morgan of Alabama, a member of the President's own party, was the chairman. The report of this investigation fills a large volume, and is of great interest.

As a whole, the report of this committee absolved President Cleveland from the imputation of having committed any irregularity or impropriety of conduct, but declared that, had he intended to compel obedience to his decision, by using force to assist in the re-enthronement of the queen, he would have

## ANNEXATION

committed an act of war, and one entirely beyond his power. It discussed the question of the landing of the troops from the *Boston*, and the claim of the queen that it was this display of force which caused her downfall. This latter contention was not sustained, the report deciding that the act of the queen, two days prior to the landing of the troops, in declaring her intention of abrogating the constitution which she had sworn to uphold, was in itself an act of abdication; that an interregnum in executive authority existed when the *Boston*, conveying the United States minister, arrived in the harbor; and that the act of Minister Stevens and Captain Wiltse of the *Boston* in directing the landing of the troops was for the purpose only of protecting the lives and property of American citizens until this interregnum should in some way have ceased to exist.

This report of the majority of the Committee on Foreign Affairs was made public, together with a dissenting minority report. Thereafter the Hawaiian Question assumed much of a partisan political aspect. The adherents of President Cleveland ignored the

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

findings of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, and sturdily insisted to the last that the downfall of the queen was hastened and carried into effect by the unlawful acts of Minister Stevens. Hence they argued that annexation, however desirable, should not occur until an expression of the popular will in the Islands should be obtained. Moreover, the opponents of annexation urged the distance of the Islands from our coast, their uselessness as a naval strategic point, the varied nationalities of the inhabitants, the alleged dislike of the native people to absorption and to the extinction of their nationality, as reasons why no further steps should be taken.

On the other hand, the advocates of annexation urged the great preponderance of American capital, sentiment, and influence in the Islands, claimed that they were invaluable from a military and naval point of view, urged that the Hawaiian government had, under international law, a perfect constitutional right to form a political union with this or any other country, and showed the vast commercial advantages which would accrue

## ANNEXATION

to this country from the possession of an outpost in the mid-Pacific. They quoted the prophecy of William H. Seward, that the Pacific, with its coasts and islands, is destined in the future to become the great theatre of the world's affairs, and urged that in the Hawaiian Islands was the commercial key to the Pacific.

Thus throughout the administration of President Cleveland the controversy was waged. The revolt of the adherents of the ex-queen, in 1895, created great interest throughout the United States; and the force of public opinion caused the naval guard, which had been withdrawn from the harbor of Honolulu, to be promptly re-established. A sudden epidemic of cholera, imported into the Islands from the East, also attracted interest and anxiety; and the vigorous measures adopted by the government to stamp it out caused wide admiration, and increased the confidence of the American people in the character and ability of the men who held the control of Hawaiian affairs. The unquestioned interest taken by Great Britain in the Islands during this period, and her attempt to

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

get a foothold upon them for a telegraphic cable station, also added to the interest in the Hawaiian Question, and called forth a resolution in the Senate to the effect that any interference of a foreign power with the Hawaiian Islands would be regarded as an act of unfriendliness toward the United States. Last of all, an effort on the part of Japan to gain political control of the Islands through colonization, and the bold refusal of the Hawaiian government to allow a large number of Japanese immigrants to land, called attention to another phase of the already complicated question, and seemed to increase in both countries the growing public sentiment in favor of annexation.

Great Britain's attempt to obtain a military telegraphic cable station deserves especial attention at this point. Late in the year 1894, when apprehensions of the coming revolt were felt in Honolulu, a request was presented to the government of the Hawaiian Islands by the British minister. This request was that the British government be allowed to lease either Necker Island, French Frigate Shoal, or Bird Island, for the purpose of establishing



## ANNEXATION

thereon a station for a submarine telegraphic cable. The proposed cable was to have its termini at Vancouver and at some point on the Australian coast. On account of the extraordinary distance between these two points, this mid-ocean station was needed; and from it it was proposed to lay a connecting spur to Honolulu. The proposition was tempting to the Hawaiian government, for in its isolated position there could be no greater boon than a connection with the world by submarine cable. But the government was debarred from granting directly the request of Great Britain by the terms of the Hawaiian-American treaty. By this instrument Hawaii had agreed to allow no nation to land a telegraphic cable upon its shores without the previous consent of the United States. Accordingly, reply was made that the request would be submitted to the consideration of the government of the United States; but in the submission of the matter to the United States, no expression of opinion as to the desirability of granting the request of Great Britain was made.

On the 9th of January, 1895, President

## AMERICA IN HAWAII.

Cleveland sent a message to Congress in these words :—

“ I submit herewith certain despatches from our minister at Hawaii and the documents which accompany the same. They disclose the fact that the Hawaiian government desires to lease to Great Britain one of the uninhabited islands belonging to Hawaii as a station for a submarine telegraph cable to be laid from Canada to Australia, with a connection between the island leased and Honolulu. . . . I hope the Congress will see fit to grant the request of the Hawaiian government, and that our consent to the proposed lease will be promptly accorded.”

The three islands included in this request lie to the north-west of the inhabited islands of the Hawaiian group. They are bold, barren rocks, without harbors, and unapproachable except in small boats in the calmest of weather. Of the three, French Frigate Shoal and Bird Island have for years been regarded as Hawaiian territory. The latter is frequently visited by Hawaiians to gather the eggs of the sea fowl, who come to the island in myriads. Neckar Island, on the other

## ANNEXATION

hand, although geographically included in the archipelago, had never been formally claimed as Hawaiian soil,—a fact which at this time was probably unknown to the British government.

The recommendation of President Cleveland did not meet the approval of Congress. It was pointed out that the documents showed that the Hawaiian government had not, as stated by Mr. Cleveland, requested permission to lease an island to Great Britain, but had merely referred the request of Great Britain to our government, as in duty bound under the treaty, without any recommendation or suggestion designed to influence the action of Congress. It was believed that the intent of Great Britain was to establish the proposed cable mainly for military purposes, the accomplishment of which could but be a menace to our country. It was pointed out that England has a naval station at the Bermudas, off our eastern coast, with telegraphic communication with Halifax ; that she has a naval depot at the latter port and another at Esquimaux on the Pacific coast, the two being connected by telegraph and by a well-

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

equipped military railroad. With telegraphic communication between Esquimaux and the Hawaiian Islands, and the possible future addition of a naval station in the Islands, it was said that she would be in a position of great superiority over the United States in case of war. Congress therefore, adopting this view, promptly declined to grant Mr. Cleveland's request.

This failure of Great Britain was followed by an attempt to compass the same result by a *coup de main*. As already seen, the Hawaiian government had never formally claimed Necker Island, the rock being utterly valueless save for such a purpose as the establishment of a cable station or a light-house. A few months after the rejection of England's overtures, two men appeared in Honolulu, who were, it was afterward believed, emissaries of the British government, charged with the collection of information in regard to Necker Island, its exact status in relation to the Hawaiian government, and its availability as a cable station. The persistence of these men in pushing their inquiries attracted the attention of the Hawaiian government,

## ANNEXATION

which began to suspect a plan to seize the island for Great Britain. A counter-plan was therefore formed. A tablet of stone was prepared with an inscription claiming Neckar Island as Hawaiian soil. With this and a Hawaiian flag and pole, a party was sent out quietly, in a small vessel chartered for the purpose. It landed upon the island through the surf, not without difficulty, and, planting the tablet and the flag, formally laid claim to Neckar Island as a portion of the territory of the Hawaiian republic. This act closed the Neckar Island incident. The government of Hawaii was anxious to carry out, not merely the letter, but also the spirit of its treaty obligations to the United States; and, more than this, in this incident it displayed its anxiety to care for the interests of the United States, as expressed by Congress, even when such action was directly antagonistic to the commercial and personal interests of the island people.

So far as any formal movement toward annexation is concerned, the Hawaiian Question lay dormant until after the close of President Cleveland's term of office. The Republican

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

Presidential convention which met in Chicago in the summer of 1896 adopted, as one "plank" of its platform, a resolution favoring Hawaiian annexation. A few months later the ex-Queen Liliuokalani, who had just previously received a full pardon for her complicity in the revolt of 1895, suddenly appeared at San Francisco, and after a journey across the continent, and a brief visit at Boston, took up her residence with her suite at Washington, in order to oppose the annexation. She made a visit to Mr. Cleveland, but found the President indisposed to enter in any formal manner into her plans. Beyond a pleasant greeting and the cautious expression of hope that her Majesty would be able to obtain some just recognition of her demands, he gave to his visitor no open sympathy. During the winter the ex-queen held a series of social receptions, which were attractive, and commanded much attention in the social life of Washington. At the inauguration of President McKinley, she occupied a prominent position in the diplomatic gallery, through the courtesy of Secretary of State John Sherman and other officials. This over,

## ANNEXATION

but little more was heard by the general public concerning her actions ; but active efforts were maintained during the next fifteen months, through the employment of a lobby in her behalf. It has been stated also that the great sugar-refining interests of our country made similar and more strenuous efforts to minimize the growing annexation feeling among the members of both houses of Congress.

Almost immediately upon the return of the Republican party to power and the accession of President McKinley a new treaty of annexation was drawn up. This treaty was similar in many of its features to that treaty of 1893, withdrawn by President Cleveland. It differed in this particular, however, that in this one no provision was made for a compensation to the ex-queen or to the Princess Kaiulani. This omission was, beyond doubt, the result of the futile attempt of the ex-queen, in 1895, to regain her lost power by force. It should be stated, however, that the Hawaiian government, some time before, had granted an annual pension of two thousand dollars to the Princess Kaiulani.

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

This treaty was signed by President McKinley, and submitted to the Senate for ratification. The debate upon this subject behind closed doors was long, and it is believed to have been not altogether free from bitterness. It at length became known that, although the question of the ratification of the treaty had not been brought to actual vote, the advocates of the measure were convinced that, while a large majority of the members of the Senate were favorable to it, there were yet lacking two or three votes to constitute the two-thirds majority required by the Constitution.

It was then decided to introduce a joint resolution of the Senate and House of Representatives, the passage of such a measure requiring not more than a majority vote. This resolution was nearly identical in its terms with the proposed treaty.

Pending the final decision of the Hawaiian Question by Congress, hostilities had begun between the United States and Spain. On the first day of May, 1898, occurred the naval battle before Manila, in which the American Pacific squadron, under command



## ANNEXATION

of Commodore Dewey, without any loss of life, utterly destroyed the opposing Spanish fleet, under the guns of the forts at Cavite. It became necessary at once that a large army of occupation should be sent to invest the city of Manila. The great strategic importance of the Hawaiian Islands now became evident to all, and many who had theretofore been pronounced opponents of annexation became converted to an advocacy of the measure. Military expeditions were speedily fitted out for the Philippine Islands; and these, sailing from San Francisco, made a port of call, for coal and fresh provisions, at Honolulu. The Hawaiian government—which, under the custom of nations, should have declared neutrality,—at once, upon the beginning of hostilities, declined to take this step. The Spanish consul at Honolulu, who protested to the island government against granting to a belligerent nation the use of its harbors, was met with a declaration that the Hawaiian government regarded the United States as its best friend, and that the Islands would welcome the troops in their harbors and on their shores. This was in effect a declaration of alliance, although no formal alliance had been made.

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

The government of the United States accepted this hospitality with gratitude. In Honolulu the members of the military expeditions, as they passed through, were received with unbounded enthusiasm, and were lavishly entertained. The effect upon the people of the United States was marked, and the speedy annexation of the Hawaiian Islands to the United States became a certainty. The resolution of annexation, after a brief debate of not more than three or four days, was adopted in the House of Representatives by a very large majority, not more than one-fourth of the members voting in opposition. In the Senate far more difficulty was met by its advocates. "Filibustering" was resorted to by the opponents of annexation, in order to gain time and possibly tire out the majority. It was now the heated term in Washington. Senators were impatient to return to their homes; and this impatience became manifest when it appeared that all other business had been completed, and that delay upon the Hawaiian resolution alone kept Congress in session. At length, on the sixth day of July, 1898, the long struggle was ended; and the

## ANNEXATION

annexation of the Hawaiian Islands, an act which had been contemplated as a future probability for half a century, at last became a reality. The resolution, a day or two later, received the signature of the President; and the Hawaiian Question became a thing of the past.

The news of the final passage of the resolution of annexation, and its signature by President McKinley, was received in Honolulu and throughout the Islands with the greatest enthusiasm. Church and school bells were rung, steam whistles blown, bands played, the American ensign waved everywhere, and dwellings and other buildings were covered with decorations. In the streets the throngs of people grew wild with joy. It was a day toward which many had looked wistfully for long years, and now it had at last come.

But one more scene remained to be enacted. This was the raising of the United States flag and the formal declaration of the absorption of the Hawaiian Islands by the American Republic.

An American ensign of the largest size

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

used was made for the purpose at the navy yard at Mare Island, California. This was sent to Honolulu in charge of Admiral Miller, on the United States steamship *Philadelphia*. Friday, August 12, 1898, was the day fixed on for the formal ceremony. This was simple, but was conducted with an impressive dignity. The extravagant jubilation which characterized the reception of the first news of annexation was wholly absent. And yet all fully recognized the important nature of the ceremony, which signalized not only a great political change in the history of Hawaii, but also an important new departure in the policy of the United States. At the appointed hour the officials of the Hawaiian government and a large gathering of people assembled in front of the government building. It was the same place which had witnessed the uprising in behalf of Queen Emma, the proclamation of the accession of King Kalakaua, the revolt of Liliuokalani against her brother, and, later, the proclamation of her own ascension of the throne. It had heard the harangue of the queen, when she proposed to the people a new constitution; it

## ANNEXATION

had heard the proclamation of the abrogation of the ancient monarchy and the proclamation of the provisional protectorate of the United States ; and it had seen the lowering of the American ensign by order of Commissioner Blount. Here, too, had been proclaimed the establishment of the Republic of Hawaii ; and here now was to be witnessed its end. It was not wholly a joyous occasion. Not a few tears were shed, even by some who had labored long and earnestly for the result which was now achieved. Beneath the flag now to be lowered had been born the man who for five years had stood at the head of affairs, as President of the Republic. Beneath it had been born Chief Justice Judd, who was to administer to him and to others the oath of allegiance to the United States. It was little wonder, then, if a feeling of sadness pervaded the assembly when they saw the flag, which for so many years had meant so much to them, sink never to rise again.

Beside the chair of President Dole upon the platform sat the Hon. Harold M. Sewall, the envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the United States, who had

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

been charged by President McKinley with the duty of accepting the sovereignty of the Islands from the hands of their President. The ceremony was brief. A certified copy of the joint resolution of the Congress of the United States accepting the cession of the Islands was formally presented to Mr. Dole by Minister Sewall. The President delivered in a few words the sovereignty of the Islands to Mr. Sewall, as the representative of the United States. A prayer was offered by the Rev. G. L. Pearson, of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The Hawaiian national anthem, "Hawaii Ponoï," was played by the Hawaiian band in the square. There was a flutter of a white handkerchief ; and, as the bugle-call "to the colors" rang out, the flag of Hawaii fell slowly on its staff. Then the same bugle-call rang out again, and up to the summit of its staff rose "Old Glory," and spread itself out in the Pacific breeze. Simultaneously upon the other public buildings of the city rose the American flag, and the national salute thundered from the guns of the American war vessels in the harbor. Upon one flag-pole was raised again the same flag which

## ANNEXATION

had been hauled down from the same place by order of Commissioner Blount, and which had been carefully preserved for this occasion by Lieutenant Lucien Young, of the United States steamship *Boston*.

After the flag-raising the proclamation of the sovereignty of the United States of America was made by Minister Sewall, followed by a short address. The oath of allegiance was then administered to President Dole by Chief Justice Judd, Mr. Dole and the other officials being authorized by President McKinley to continue in the administration of local affairs until some form of government for them should have been adopted by Congress. The assemblage then dispersed. And thus the influence of the United States in the Hawaiian Islands, which had its inception in the coming of the little shipload of missionaries from Boston in the year 1819, had had its fitting culmination.





# INDEX



## INDEX.

ABERDEEN, Lord, 82.

ADAMS, United States steamship, 161; lands marines to quell Wilcox-Boyd insurrection, 161; troops on beaten to arms and make feint of landing in force, 222, 224.

ALEXANDER, Brev. Brig. Gen., on military commission to examine Pearl Harbor, 148.

ALLEN, ELISHA H., 47.

*Anglican Church* planted in Islands, 121, 125; its bishop antagonizes American sentiment, 174.

*Annexation*, Minister McCook suggests, 43; Secretary Seward considers, 43; preferred by Seward to reciprocity, 44; France apprehensive of, 105; looking toward, 106 *et seq.*; treaty of proposed, 114; movement for progressing rapidly, 114; Kamehameha IV averse to, 119; negotiations for cease, 119; in abeyance, 122; Kamehameha V not averse to, 127; discussed in Honolulu, 128; sentiment for rapidly growing in Islands, 129; suggested by Minister Pierce, 133; desired in Islands, 135; sentiment for increasing at Islands, 150; first active step toward taken, 186; commissioners sent to Washington to negotiate treaty of, 188; treaty of sent to Senate by President Harrison, 196; the President urges its ratification, 197; treaty of fails for lack of time, 200; favored in Republican platform of 1896, 242; Liliuokalani establishes a "lobby" at Washington against, 243; new treaty of drawn, 243; treaty of signed by President McKinley, 244; fails in Senate, 244; joint resolution of introduced in Congress, 244; becomes a certainty, 246; is consummated, 247; news of received with joy at Islands, 247; formally declared and flag raised, 247, 248; ceremonies of declaration of, 248-250.

*Annexation, joint resolution* of, presented in Congress, 244; passed in House and Senate, 246; signed by President McKinley, 247.

*Arion Hall*, troops lodged in, 185.

BACHELOT, Rev. JOHN ALEXIUS, sails for Hawaii, 64; his arrival, 65; attempts to propagate Romish faith, 65; his sincerity, 65; in conflict with Protestant mis-

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

- sions, 65, 66; is banished by Hawaiian government, 66.
- BARÁNOFF entertains idea of colonization, 17.
- BARRELL, JOSEPH, reads Cook's narrative, 29; forms commercial company, 29.
- BAYARD, Secretary, replies to Lord Salisbury's protest against Pearl Harbor cession, 155; takes warm interest in Hawaii, 192; advocates prolongation of reciprocity treaty, 192; regards annexation as wished-for event, 192; his recall from Court of St. James, 193; interview with published in *Philadelphia Ledger*, 193.
- BECKET, Brig., 38.
- BELKNAP, Commander, arrives on *Tuscarora*, 138; lands armed force, 139.
- BENICIA, United States steamship, brings Kalakaua to this country, 47.
- BERNICE PAUAHI, Princess, offered throne, 136.
- BINGHAM, HIRAM, 23, 25.
- Bird Island*, Great Britain applies for liberty to lease, 236, 238.
- BISHOP, CHARLES R., Mrs., is offered throne by Lunalilo, 136, 137.
- BLAINE, JAMES G., Secretary, his vigorous words regarding reciprocity treaty, 50, 51; his letter to Minister Comly, 143; sends instructions to same, 144; letter of Stevens to, 164.
- BLONDE, frigate, conveys bodies of deceased king and queen to Hawaii, 54.
- BLOUNT, JAMES H., appointed special commissioner to Hawaii, 201; his credentials, 201, 202; his authority declared to be paramount, 202; his appointment not submitted to Senate for confirmation, 202; arrives at Honolulu, 203; orders Admiral Skerrett to haul down American flag, 203; investigates affairs at the Islands, 203; reports frequently to State Department, 204; his letters hostile to Provisional Government, 204; his final report, 204; is appointed minister to Hawaii, 204; declines appointment, 204; returns to United States, 205; his report and doings call forth criticism, 206; the same flag which he ordered lowered is raised again, 249.

## INDEX

- BOLTE, C., 181.
- BOSTON, United States cruiser, goes on a practice cruise, 178; Minister Stevens a passenger on, 178; returns to Honolulu, 179; troops landed from, 185.
- BOYD, ROBERT, leads insurrection against Kalakaua.
- BREWER, CHARLES, establishes commercial house at Islands, 37.
- BREWER, CHARLES, & Co., 38.
- BRINTNELL, Capt., 22.
- BROWN, ANDREW, 181.
- BROWN, GEORGE, appointed commissioner at Honolulu, 86; arrives, 86; is presented to king, 86; addresses his Majesty, 86; the king replies to him, 86; king asks for his recall, 89; is recalled, 89.
- BROWN, SAMUEL, 29.
- BULFINCH, CHARLES, 29.
- BYRON, Lord, 54.
- California* annexed to United States, 110; admitted to Statehood, 110; discovery of gold in, 111.
- Caroline Islands*, 2.
- CARTER, CHARLES L., commissioner to Washington to negotiate treaty of annexation, 188.
- CARTER, HENRY A. P., 47.
- CARTER, J. O., adviser of ex-queen, 214.
- CARYSFORT, frigate, arrives, 71, 81, 83.
- CASTLE, WILLIAM R., commissioner to Washington to negotiate treaty of annexation, 188; minister at Washington, 230.
- Cession, Provisional*, of Islands to United States, by Kamehameha III, 101; absolute contemplated, 112.
- CHAMBERLAIN, DANIEL, 23, 25.
- CHAMPION, British war vessel, remains in Honolulu harbor, 231.
- CHARLESTON, United States steamship, conveys body of deceased king to Honolulu, 163.
- CHARLETON, RICHARD, appointed British consul-general, 60; manifests antagonism to American missionaries, 61; his fears, 61; threatens to introduce English Roman Catholic priests, 61; procures visit of ship *Actæon*, 69; forces king to conclude treaty with Great Britain, 69; leaves Islands, 69; worsted in suit at law, 77, 79; appoints a consul to act in his absence, 79.

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

CHATHAM, ship, arrives, 16.

*Cholera*, epidemic of attacks Honolulu, 235; is stamped out, 235.

CLAYTON, JOHN M., Hon., 94; writes to Minister Rives at Paris, 94; checks French aggressions, 94, 95.

CLEVELAND, President, 151; signs treaty ceding Pearl Harbor, 151; desires renewal of reciprocity treaty, 151; his "unhesitating conviction," 152; urges necessity of Hawaiian-American cable, 169; his message to Congress, 169; assumes control at Washington, 198, 200; withdraws Hawaiian annexation treaty, 201; determines on an investigation, 201; sends a personal commissioner to Honolulu, 201; sends special message to Congress, imputing moral obliquity to Minister Stevens, 206; refuses to recommit treaty of annexation to Senate, 207; his attitude provokes bitter discussion, 207; his adherents and opponents, 207; urged by Gresham to restore queen by force, 212; learns of firm stand of Provisional Government, 224; refers matter to Congress, 224; his attitude not approved by country, 225; relinquishes apparent interest in Hawaiian Question, 226; demands recall of Minister Thurston, 229; orders American war vessels to be withdrawn from Islands, 231; his action results in investigation by Senate committee, 232; is absolved from imputation of impropriety of conduct, 232; findings of Morgan committee ignored by his partisan adherents, 234; receives Liliuokalani, 242; does not enter into her plans, 242; retires from office, 242.

*Cocoanut-trees*, value early recognized, 39.

COLE, Capt. WILLIAM, 37.

COLUMBIA, ship, sent out, 30; visits Oregon coast, 30; returns, 30.

COMLY, JAMES M., 50.

*Commerce*, Hawaiian, 29 *et seq.*

*Committee of Public Safety* appointed at mass meeting of people, 181; Henry E. Cooper is appointed chairman, 181; demands resignations of heads of departments, 182; their demands met, 182; receives appeals for protection from citizens, 183; appeals to United States minister for protection, 184; demands surrender of police station and civil forces, 186.

## INDEX

- CONSTELLATION, frigate, reaches Islands, 84.  
*Constitution, Liliuokalani's*, provisions of, 178.
- COOK, Capt. JAMES, discovers Hawaiian Islands, 1, 2, 5, 6; worshipped as God, 7; sails from Islands, 8; returns, 8; is killed by natives, 8; monument to memory of, 8.
- COOPER, HENRY A., chairman of Committee of Public Safety, 181; proclaims Hawaiian republic, 186.
- CORWIN, United States cutter, arrives with secret despatches, 221.
- CROCKER, THOMAS, 37.
- DANIEL, ship, ruffians from attack missionaries, 26.
- Danish West Indies*, acquisition of urged by President Grant, 46.
- DAVIES, T. H., guardian of Kaiulani, 173; returns to Islands in her interests, 174.
- DAVIS, ISAAC, captured by natives, 12; leads force against Kamehameha, 14.
- DERBY, JOHN, 29.
- DEWEY, Commodore, destroys Spanish fleet, 245.
- Diplomatic relations* begun, 53 *et seq.*
- DISCOVERY, ship, arrives with Cook, 3; arrives with Vancouver, 16; council on board of, 17.
- DIXON, Capt., 9.
- DOLE, SANFORD B., recognized as President of Provisional Government by President Cleveland, 201, 202; receives Minister Willis, 208; addressed note of inquiry to Willis, 214; receives evasive reply, 214; addresses second note of inquiry to Willis, 216, 217; receives no reply, 217; remonstrates forcibly to Willis, 219, 220, 221; evasive reply of Willis to, 221; transfers sovereignty of Islands to United States, 249, 250; takes oath of allegiance to United States, 251.
- DOLPHIN, United States schooner, arrives at Honolulu, 58; crew of attacks missionaries, 58.
- DOMINIS, JOHN, 37.
- DOMINIS, JOHN O., 37; his marriage to Liliuokalani, 37, 166; death of, 166.
- DOUGLAS, Capt., 13.
- DOWNES, Commodore, 68.
- DUBLIN, British ship, reaches Islands, 84.
- DWIGHT, Rev. EDWIN W., 22.

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

EAMES, CHARLES, appointed United States commissioner to Hawaii, 106; meets Judd at San Francisco, 106; negotiates a treaty, 106.

ELEANOR, SNOW, arrives, 11, 16.

ELWELL, ROBERT, 37.

EMMA, Queen, her marriage, 118; strengthens British influence, 121; her sympathies with English residents, 125; candidate for throne, 137; her claims urged, 138; her adherents form mob, 138; her residence protected by British forces, 139; accepts advice of American minister, 140.

EMMELUTH, JOHN, 181.

EVERETT, EDWARD, 81, 82.

FAIR AMERICAN, ship, arrives, 11; captured by natives, 12, 13, 16.

FILLMORE, President, agrees to employ his good offices in matter of French aggressions, 94.

FINCH, Capt., 59.

FISH, Hon. HAMILTON, Secretary of State, 133; letter of to Minister Pierce, 135.

*Flag* of United States is raised permanently at Hawaii, 250.

*Foreign aggressions*, 86 *et seq.*

*Foreign representatives* acknowledge Provisional Government, 187.

FOSTER, JOHN W., Secretary of State, drafts treaty of annexation, 188; his letter to Minister Stevens, 199; commends provisional protectorate, 199.

*France*, treaty with forced from king by Laplace, 68; concludes new treaty with Hawaii, 89; continues hostile, 95; "surprised" at attitude of United States, 104; jealous of increasing United States influence, 104; protests against annexation of Hawaii to United States, 115; minister of at Honolulu delays recognition of Provisional Government, 187, 189.

FRELINGHUYSEN, Secretary, protests against possible French and British aggressions, 145.

*French frigate Shoal*, Great Britain applies for liberty to lease, 236, 238.

GAETANO, JUAN, 2, 3.

GARNET, British war vessel, enters harbor of Honolulu, 190; her presence increases tension, 190; officers



## INDEX

- neglect to pay courtesies to Provisional Government, 190; encounters of crew of with those of American vessel, 190; fears of interference from, 190.
- GASSENDI, French steamer, arrives at Honolulu, 92.
- GEORGE IV, 54.
- GRANT, President, urges acquisition of Danish West Indies and San Domingo, 46, 47; sends Minister Pierce's letter to Senate, 133.
- GRAY, ROBERT, Capt., 30, 31.
- Great Britain*, Vancouver declares protectorate of, 17; fails to ratify protectorate, 17; protests against reciprocity treaty, 49, 50; objects to Pearl Harbor grant, 51; concludes treaty with Islands through Lord Edward Russel, 69; Islands ceded to, 80; in position of having acted in bad faith, 83; disavows act of Paulet, 83; disclaims sovereignty over Hawaii, 83; agrees with France for independence of Hawaii, 84; flag of removed, 85; concludes new treaty with Hawaii, 89; consul of protests against French aggressions, 92; jealous of increasing American influence in Hawaii, 104; Oregon controversy with, 110; correspondence with asked for by Congress, 111; protests against annexation of Hawaii to United States, 115; influence of in Islands at its height, 122; places high estimate on value of Islands, 123; examines Islands with reference to cotton-growing, 123; interchanges commissioners with Hawaii, 143; protests against cession of Pearl Harbor, 154; object of in making protest, 156; failure of effort of, 156; minister of at Honolulu delays recognition of Provisional Government, 187, 189; takes interest in Islands, 235; attempts to get foothold for submarine cable station, 236; Senate resolution of non-interference of foreign powers, 236; attempts to secure control of Necker Island, 236; applies to Hawaiian government for cession of island, 236; its application referred to the United States, 237; President Cleveland recommends that request be granted, 238; Congress refuses, 239, 240; plans seizure of Necker Island, 240.
- GREGG, DAVID L., commissioner to Hawaiian Islands, 113; empowered to negotiate treaty of cession, 113, 116.

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

GRESHAM, Secretary, letter of Stevens to, 198, 200; his attitude criticised, 207; instructs Minister Willis to demand restoration of queen's authority, 210; urges Cleveland to restore queen by force, 212; his antagonism toward Minister Thurston, 229; causes American war vessels to be withdrawn from Islands, 231.

HAALILIO, TIMOTEO, 71.

HANCOCK, JOHN, entertains officers of Hawaiian commercial expedition, 30.

HARRIS, C. C., Hawaiian minister at Washington, 42; concludes treaty of reciprocity, 42.

HARRISON, BENJAMIN, President of the United States, 170; gracious in attitude toward Hawaii, 170; recommends raising rank of American representative in Islands, 170; calls attention of Congress to need of cable, 170; recommends improvement of Pearl Harbor, 170, 171; receives credentials of annexation commissioners, 188; transmits treaty of annexation to Senate, 196; refers to Liliuokalani, 196; regards her restoration as undesirable, 197; advocates annexation as desirable, 197.

HATCH, Capt. CROWELL, 29.

HATCH, FRANCIS M., minister at Washington, 230.

"*Hawaii Pono*" played at annexation ceremonies, 250.

*Hawaiian Islands*, settlement of, 1; discovery of, 1; prehistoric works on, 3, 5; rent by civil feuds, 9; first visited by American ship, 11; brought under sway of Kamehameha, 15; importations from, 36; cattle imported into, 38; commerce with increasing, 53; American agent at appointed, 53; first visited by American naval vessel, 55; whale-fisheries at, 110; Kamehameha III contemplates cession of to United States, 112; desire to be admitted as a State, 116; annexation of in abeyance, 122; annexation of discussed in, 128; seizure of suggested, 130; regarded as one of American family of nations, 162; invited to send delegate to International American Conference, 162; reach a crisis in history, 163; revolution of 1893, 173.

*Hawaiian national anthem* played at annexation ceremonies, 250.

*Hawaiian people*, origin of, 3; population at time of discovery, 4; social and political system, 4; reject idol-

## INDEX

- worship, 19; social condition of, 19; religious ceremonies of, 19; their deliverance at hand, 21; first spelling-books printed for, 25; work of civilizing begun, 26; organized as a civilized nation, 27; first see a horse, 33; fond of iron, 34; first treaty negotiated with, 56; President Jackson sends friendly message to, 59; decreasing rapidly, 115.
- Hawaiian Question* becomes a political factor, 208; not forgotten at Washington, 231; assumes partisan political aspect, 233; discussed throughout administration of Cleveland, 235; lies dormant for a time, 241; is settled, 250.
- Hawaiian Republic* formed, 230; royalists visit Washington in interest of queen, 231; formally claims Necker Island and raises its flag, 241; makes practical alliance with United States in entertaining Philippine expedition, 245; regards United States as its best friend, 245; its hospitality accepted, 246.
- HOLMAN, THOMAS, 23.
- HONOLULU, native fort built at, 18; a beautiful city built, 27, 28; becomes important whaling point, 40; annexation discussed in, 128; harbor of, 148; landed property in owned by Americans, 173; in turmoil of excitement over attempts of queen to abrogate constitution, 178; slumbers over a volcano, 181; troops landed in, 185; quieting effect upon, 185; Blount arrives at, 203; tension intense in, 212; terror in, 221; quiet is restored in, 224; attacked by epidemic of cholera, 235; visited by Philippine expedition, 246.
- HONORÉ, JOHN, 23, 25.
- HOPU assists to organize missionary party at Boston, 23; describes his native country, 24; announces the fall of idolatry, 25.
- Horses* first imported into Islands, 33.
- HUNNEWELL, JAMES, establishes commercial house at Islands, 38.
- International American Conference* meets at Washington, 162; Hawaiian Islands regarded a member, and invited to send delegate, 162.
- Investigation, Senate*, of President Cleveland's Hawaiian attitude, 232; report of Morgan committee, 232, 233; Minister Stevens exonerated, 232, 233.

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

- IPHIGENIA, ship, arrives, 13.
- JACKSON, ANDREW, sends friendly message to Islands, 59.
- Japanese*, interference of feared, 200; attempt to gain control through colonization, 236; immigrants refused permission to land, 236.
- JARVES, JAMES JACKSON, appointed special commissioner to United States, 94.
- JOHNSON, ANDREW, urges ratification of reciprocity treaty, 44, 45; is succeeded by President Grant, 46.
- JONES, JOHN C., appointed agent for United States at Islands, 53.
- JONES, Capt. THOMAS AP CATESBY, visits Islands in command of *Peacock*, 55; negotiates treaty of friendship and commerce, 56.
- JUDD, Chief Justice, administers oath of allegiance to United States, 251.
- JUDD, GEORGE P., 78; appointed special commissioner to United States, 94.
- KAAHUMANU appointed guardian of Liholiho, 18; proposes to break *tabus*, 19; guardian of Kauikeaouli, 55.
- KAIANA goes to China, 11; returns with fire-arms, 13; leads force against Kamehameha, 14; death of, 15.
- KAIULANI, Princess, appointed heir apparent, 166; at school in England, 173; annexation treaty makes provision for, 188; new annexation treaty makes no provision for, 243; pensioned by Hawaiian government, 243.
- KALAIMOKU, guardian of Kauikeaouli, 55.
- KALAKAUA offers himself candidate for throne, 137; adept at political intrigue, 138; is elected king, 139; is recognized by foreign powers, 140; visits United States, 47, 141; returns to Islands, 142; insurrection against, 158; popular wrath at his venality, 159; grants new constitution, 159; invokes aid of United States in quelling insurrection, 160; pays a second visit to United States, 163; his death in San Francisco, 163; his body returned to Honolulu, 163.
- KALANIKUPULE, at battle of Nuanuu Valley, 14.
- KAMAMALU, Queen, starts for a tour of Europe, 54; received by George IV, 54; body of returned to Islands, 54.
- KAMEHAMEHA I, Prince of the island Hawaii, 7; makes

## INDEX

- war on allied chiefs, 9; attempts to invade Maui, 9; renews the attempt, 13; returns to Hawaii, 14; conquers Hawaii, 14; begins conquest of other islands, 14; fights battle of Nuanuu Valley, 14; conquers entire archipelago, 15; establishes a dynasty, 15; requests Russians to withdraw, 18; forbids human sacrifices, 18; death of, 18; is given an anvil, 34.
- KAMEHAMEHA II, accession of, 18; starts for a tour of Europe, 54; received by George IV, 54; death of, 54; body of returned to Islands, 54.
- KAMEHAMEHA III ascends throne, 55; despatches commissioners to Washington, 71; perplexed by demands of Paulet, 79; determines on a cession of Islands to Great Britain, 80; appeals to President Tyler, 81; declared by Great Britain to be legitimate sovereign of Hawaii, 85; receives Commissioner Brown, 87; makes significant utterance, 87; appeals to United States and Great Britain from French aggressions, 93; appoints James Jackson Jarves special commissioner to United States, 94; makes provisional cession to United States, 100; text of cession, 101; contemplates absolute cession to United States, 112; wearied by demands of European powers, 114; death of, 118.
- KAMEHAMEHA IV, accession of, 118; his marriage, 118; averse to completing treaty of annexation, 119; captivated by English ideas, 123; his death, 126.
- KAMEHAMEHA V, accession of, 126; inclined toward absolutism, 126; refused to subscribe to constitution in force, 126; prepared and proclaimed a new constitution, 126; his sympathies, 126; inclined to annexation, 127; death of, 133.
- KAPIOLANI defends missionaries, 26.
- KAPIOLANI, Queen, visits United States, 157.
- KAUAI comes under sway of Kamehameha, 15; visited by sloop *Lady Washington*, 16; missionaries begin work on, 25.
- KAUIKEAOULI ascends throne as Kamehameha III, 55.
- Kealakekua Bay*, 9, 10; the *Eleanor* arrives at, 12.
- KEARNEY, Commodore, protests against cession of Islands to Great Britain, 84.
- KENDRICK, Capt. JOHN, 16, 30.
- KING GEORGE, ship, arrival of, 9.

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

- LACKAWANNA, United States steamship, arrives, 130; her presence creates suspicion, 131.
- LADY WASHINGTON, sloop, arrives, 16; leaves Boston, 30.
- L'AIGLE, ship, 54, 63.
- LANSING, THEODORE F., 181.
- LA PÉROUSE, explorer, arrives, 10.
- LAPLACE, Capt., 68; forces treaty from king by threats, 68.
- LA POURSUIVANTE, French frigate, arrives at Honolulu, 92.
- L'ARTÉMISE, frigate, arrives, 68, 69.
- LAURA, brig, 38.
- Ledger, Philadelphia*, publishes interview with Hon. Thomas F. Bayard, 193.
- LELEIOHOKU, Prince, death of, 158.
- LIHOLIHO, accession of, under title Kamehameha II, 18; breaks *tabus*, 19.
- LIHOLIHO, ALEXANDER, accedes to the throne as Kamehameha IV, 118.
- LILIUOKALANI, marriage of, 37; visits United States with Queen Kapiolani, 157; appointed heiress apparent, 158; her hostility to liberal government under Kalakaua, 159; upbraids her brother for his liberality, 160; longs for a return to absolutism, 160; Wilcox-Boyd insurrection said to have been incited by her, 160; accession of, 163; takes oath to support constitution, 163; shows sentiments of absolutism, 164; endeavors to force resignation of ministers, 164; gains her point, 165; death of husband of, 166; her growing pro-English sentiment, 166; appoints Kaiulani as heir apparent, 166; her designs rapidly develop, 167; dissatisfied with constitution of 1887, 167; her aspirations encouraged, 174; contest of with legislature, 174; selects a new cabinet, 174; confirmation is refused, 175; nominates satisfactory cabinet, 175; intends to create a new constitution, 176; influence of favorable to lottery and opium bills, 177; signs lottery and opium bills, 177; announces intention of abrogating constitution and establishing another, 178; instigates natives to oppose whites, 178; calls on ministry for support, 179; is refused support of ministers, 179; makes speech from bal-

## INDEX

cony, 180; denounces her ministers, 180; makes display of arms, 180; partially recedes from her demands, 181; issues proclamation to native subjects, 182; promises new constitution, 182; abandons palace, 183; abandons attempt to maintain tranquillity, 184; protests against dethronement, 186; makes charges against Minister Stevens, 186; text of her protest, 186, 187; provisionally abdicates, 187; provision for pension for, 188; sends commissioner to Washington to oppose annexation, 188; President Harrison's reference to, 196, 197; her restoration regarded undesirable, 191; invited to confer with Minister Willis, 210, 211; demands the lives of the revolutionists, 211; is in frequent communication with Minister Willis, 214; withdraws her utmost demands, 215; her letter to Minister Willis, 215; engages to proclaim amnesty if restored, 216; her restoration demanded by Minister Willis, 217; it is refused by Provisional Government, 217, 218; instigates revolt against republic, 232; is arrested, tried, and imprisoned, 232; is pardoned, 242; visits Washington and is received by President Cleveland, 242; he is indisposed to enter into her plans, 242; attends inauguration of President McKinley, 242; a figure in social life in Washington, 242; establishes a "lobby" against annexation, 243; has no provision for pension in new treaty, 243.

LOOMIS, ELISHA, 23, 25.

LOT, Prince, accession of as Kamehameha V, 126.

*Louisiana Lottery Company* asks a franchise, 176; bill for franchise of passes and is signed, 177.

LOUIS PHILIPPE, 70.

LUNALILO, his right to throne conceded, 134; is elected king, 134; offers succession to throne to Mrs. Bishop, 136; his death, 137.

MANILA, battle before, 244.

MARCY, W. L., Hon., Secretary of State, 108; writes to minister at Paris, 108.

*Mare Island*, 248.

*Marquesas Islands*, 83.

MARSDEN, JOSEPH, commissioner to Washington to negotiate treaty of annexation, 188.

MARSHALL, JOSIAH, 37.

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

MASON, JOHN, 108.

*Mass meeting* called, 181; Secretary Gresham openly denounced at, 213.

*Maui*, the *Eleanor* visits, 11; invaded by Kamehameha, 13.

MCBRIDE, JAMES, appointed minister resident, 122; letter of to Secretary Seward, 122.

MCCANDLESS, J. A., 181.

MCCHESNEY, F. W., 181.

MCCOOK, EDWARD, minister of United States at Honolulu, 41, 42; instructed to favor treaty of reciprocity, 42; frames and concludes new treaty, 42; writes to Secretary Seward, 42; suggests acquisition of Islands by United States, 43, 130.

McKINLEY, President, 194; his accession to power, 243; signs annexation treaty, 244; signs joint resolution of annexation, 247.

MEARES, Capt., 11.

METCALF, Capt., 11; massacres natives, 12.

MILLER, Admiral, carries American flag to Hawaii, 248; raises American flag, 248-250.

MILLER, Gen., British consul, 117; endeavors to dissuade the king from annexation, 117; attacks United States, 117.

*Missionaries*, party of organized at Boston, 23; sail from Boston, 24; arrive at Islands, 25; receive accessions, 26; sailors attempt to obstruct, 26; assailed by ruffians, 26; see fruits of their labors, 27; receive strong re-enforcements, 27; attacked by crews of vessels, 58; attacked by *Dolphin* crew, 58; in conflict with Jesuit priests, 65, 66; supply their rivals with books, 66; their influence still potent, 121.

*Missions, Roman Catholic*, planted in Hawaii, 65; in conflict with Protestant missions, 66; banished by Hawaiian government, 66; are deported, 66; allowed to be re-established, 68.

NAHIOLEA assists Kamehameha at battle of Nuanuu Valley, 14.

*Napooopoo*, village of bombarded, 8.

*Neckar Island*, Great Britain attempts to secure, 236, 237; is claimed formally by Hawaii, 241.

NEUMANN, PAUL, commissioner of queen to oppose annexation, 188; has queen's power of attorney, 189.



## INDEX

- Niihau* comes under sway of Kamehameha, 15.  
 NOOTKA, ship, arrives, 11.  
*Nootka Sound*, 12.  
*Nuanuu Valley*, battle of, 14.  
*Oahu*, Kamehameha invades, 14.  
 OBOOKIAH discovered in New Haven, 21; his escape from Islands, 22; death of, 22.  
*Officer of navy*, remarkable interview with, 222, 223.  
*Opium ring* becomes prominent, 176; bill for franchise of passes and is signed, 177.  
*Oregon*, boundary settled, 110; admitted to Union, 110.  
*Oregon coast* visited by *Columbia*, 30.  
 PARAGON, ship, visits the Islands, 37.  
*Park Street Church*, 23.  
*Paulet episode, the*, 71 *et seq.*  
 PAULET, Lord GEORGE, arrives on *Carysfort*, 71; demands redress of Charleton's alleged grievance, 78; threatens attack on town, 78; accepts cession from Kamehameha III, 80, 82, 83; his act disavowed, 84.  
 PEACOCK, United States steamship, visits Islands, 55.  
*Pearl Harbor*, rights in granted, 51; its importance, 146; description of, 146, 147; its situation, 147; examined by military commission, 148; report of same on, 148, 149; impression of report at Washington, 150; cession of concluded, 151; cession regarded by some as provisional, 153; Great Britain protests against cession of, 154; cession continues in force, 156; President Harrison recommends improvement of, 170.  
*Pearls*, trade in, 33.  
*Pearl shell*, trade in, 33.  
 PEARSON, Rev. G. L., chaplain at ceremony of annexation, 250.  
 PENSACOLA, United States steamship, conveys Kalakaua home, 142.  
 PERCIVAL, Lieut. JOHN, 58.  
 PHILADELPHIA, United States steamship, troops on beaten to arms and make feint of landing in force, 222, 224.  
 PHILIPPINE ISLANDS, American military expedition to, 245; calls at Honolulu, and is entertained by government and people, 245.  
 PIERCE, HENRY A., establishes commercial house at

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

- Islands, 38; appointed United States minister, 133;  
hints possible approaching death of king, 133; suggests annexation, 133.
- PIERCE, President, 111; requested by Congress to furnish correspondence, 111.
- PINTARD, JOHN MARDEN, 29.
- POLK, President, attacked by Ten Eyck, 90.
- Polynesian race*, origin of, 1.
- PORTLOCK, Capt., 9.
- PORTSMOUTH, *L'Aigle* arrives at, 63.
- PORTSMOUTH, United States steamship, arrives, 138.
- POTOMAC, United States frigate, arrives, 68.
- Provisional Government* declared, 186; sends commission to Washington, 187; is recognized by foreign governments except France and Great Britain, 187, 189; requests provisional protectorate by United States, and flag to be raised, 190; Blount's letters hostile to, 204; prepares for defence, 214; withdraws permission to American troops to land, 214; Willis demands its relinquishment of authority and restoration of queen, 217; refuses the demand, 217, 218; reply to Minister Willis, 218; receives no reply to inquiry as to use of force, 219; makes preparations for defence, 219, 222.
- QUEEN CHARLOTTE, ship, arrival of, 9.
- Queen's Hospital* founded, 28.
- RASSELAS, ship, 38.
- RESOLUTION, ship, 3.
- Revolution of 1893*, 173 *et seq.*
- RICHARDS, WILLIAM, 71.
- RIVES, JOHN, his opposition to missionary labors, 62; joins royal party on its journey, 62; seduces the king into gambling habit, 63; employed as interpreter, 63; dismissed for ill-behavior, 63; leaves royal train, 63; goes to France, 63; tells stories of adventures, 63; advertises for artisans and priests, 64; violates promises and disappears, 65.
- RIVES, WILLIAM C., 94.
- ROOKE, EMMA, marries Kamehameha IV, 118.
- Royalists* visit Washington, 231; suggest revolt against Hawaiian Republic and solicit aid, 231; suggest withdrawal of American war vessels from Islands, 231; their suggestion followed, 231; purchases and ships

## INDEX

- arms to Islands, 231; are elated at withdrawal of American war vessels, 231; claim that withdrawal was to aid a revolt, 232; make revolt against Hawaiian government, 232; many of them imprisoned, 232.
- RUGGLES, SAMUEL, 23, 24.
- RUSSEL, Lord EDWARD, 69, 70.
- Russian flag* displayed, 17.
- Russian government* disavows aggressions, 18.
- Russian vessels* visit Islands, 17.
- SALISBURY, Lord, suggests triple compact for protection of Islands, 154.
- Sandalwood trade*, beginning of, 16; assumes great importance, 31-33.
- San Domingo*, acquisition of urged by President Grant, 46.
- SANDWICH, Earl of, 4.
- Sandwich Islands*, 4.
- SCHOFIELD, Major-Gen. J. M., head of military commission to examine Pearl Harbor, 148; his report, 148, 149; appears before a Congressional committee, 150.
- SEVERANCE, LUTHER, United States minister to Hawaii, 95; communicates with State Department, 96; letter to Daniel Webster, 96-99; officers of king offer him sovereignty of Islands for United States, 99; receives instructions from Secretary Webster, 102.
- SEWALL, HAROLD M., minister of United States at Hawaii, 249; receives surrender of sovereignty from President Dole, 250.
- SEWARD, WILLIAM H., favors treaty of reciprocity, 42; receives letter from McCook, 42; replies, 43; considers suggestion of annexation, 43; letter to from Minister McBride, 122, 123; his prophecy concerning coming importance of the Pacific, its shores and islands, 235.
- SHERMAN, JOHN, Secretary of State, shows courtesies to Liliuokalani, 242.
- SIMPSON, ALEXANDER, 79.
- SKERRETT, Commander, arrives on *Portsmouth*, 138; lands armed force, 139; ordered by Blount to haul down American flag, 203; hauls down flag, 203.
- SKINNER, HENRY, 79.
- SMITH, WILLIAM O., 181.

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

- Spain*, war with United States breaks out, 244; fleet of destroyed in Manila Bay, 245; consul of protests against entertainment of American troops, 245.
- SPALDING, Z. S., letter of Secretary of State to, 128.
- Spanish settlers, early*, 2.
- STARBUCK, Capt., 63.
- STEVENS, JOHN L., United States minister at Islands, 164; his letter to Secretary Blaine, 164; writes to State Department regarding discontent with queen's plans, 168, 169; correspondence shows rising discontent, 173; goes as passenger on cruiser *Boston*, 178; Committee of Public Safety appeals to him for protection, 184; he responds, 184; requests Captain Wiltse to land troops, 184, 185; charged by queen of assisting in revolt against her authority, 186; requested to raise flag of United States for protection against foreign aggressions, 190; raises flag of United States, 190; sees ripening fruition, 194; notifies State Department of revolution, 195; urges prompt action on annexation, 195; resigns position as minister at Hawaiian Islands, 198; remains until relieved, 198; writes Secretary Gresham, 198; Foster's letter to, 198, 199; his reply to Foster, 199; writes Gresham of impending Japanese aggressions, 200; attacked by Cleveland, 206.
- Sugar-cane*, adaptability of Islands for discovered, 40; its cultivation begun, 40, its culture becomes chief industry, 40; 120.
- Sugar-refining interests* instigate abrogation of reciprocity treaty, 153.
- SUHR, ED., 181.
- SUMNER, CHARLES, opposes annexation of San Domingo, 46.
- TAMOREE continues missionary work begun by Obookiah, 22; assists to organize a missionary party at Boston, 23; death of, 28.
- TENEDOS, British war vessel, lands force of marines, 139.
- TEN EYCK, A., appointed United States commissioner, 89; not acceptable, 89; instructed to negotiate treaty, 90; antagonizes Secretary of State Buchanan, 90; his relations with Hawaii strained, 90; abuses Polk's administration, 90; attacks Buchanan, 90, 91; re-

## INDEX

signs office, 91; ignored by United States government, 91.

THADDEUS, brig, sails with missionary party, 24.

THOMAS, Rear-Admiral, visits Honolulu with intelligence of disavowal of act of Paulet, 84.

THURSTON, ASA, 23.

THURSTON, LORRIN A., member Committee of Public Safety, 181; commissioner to Washington to negotiate treaty of annexation, 188; Hawaiian minister at Washington, 229; Secretary Gresham's antagonism toward, 229; his recall demanded, 229; withdraws, and returns home, 230; returns to Washington as annexation agent, 230.

*Treaty of annexation*, commission goes to Washington to negotiate, 188; Liliuokalani sends commissioner to Washington to oppose, 188, 189; transmitted to Senate by President Harrison, 196; fails of ratification for lack of time, 200; Cleveland withdraws it from Senate, 201; Cleveland refuses to recommit to Senate, 207; new drawn, 243; President McKinley signs, 244; debate upon in Senate, 244; it lacks sufficient votes for ratification, 244.

*Treaty of friendship and commerce* negotiated by Capt. Jones, 56; its terms and provisions, 56; not ratified by Senate, 57; first negotiated at San Francisco and at Washington, 107; concluded and ratified, 107.

*Treaty* with France forced by Laplace, 68; new with France, 89.

*Treaty* with Great Britain, 89.

*Treaty of reciprocity* concluded, 41; fails of ratification, 41; its revival suggested without success, 41; its revival recommended in 1867, 42; new treaty framed by Minister McCook, 42; concluded at San Francisco, 42; approved by President Johnson, 42; fails of ratification, 42; ratified by Hawaiian government, 43; negotiations for renewed, 47; signed at Washington, 47; ratified and proclaimed, 48; its provisions, 48; goes into operation, 49; its terms, 49; expires by limitation, 51; renewed, 51; sugar interests oppose renewal, 51; renewal ratified, 52; remains in full force, 52; its abrogation attempted, 153.

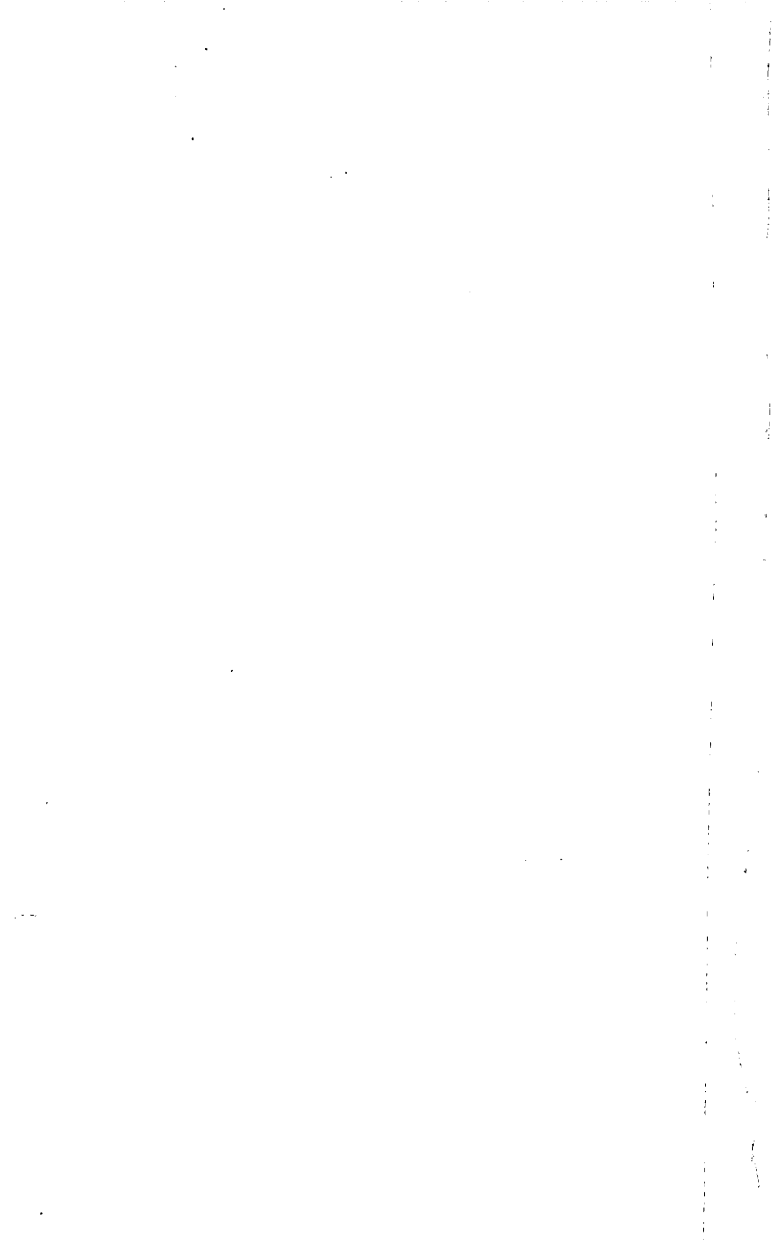
TROMELIN, Rear-Admiral, arrives at Islands, 92; makes

## AMERICA IN HAWAII

- peremptory demands, 92; threatens coercion, 92; lands military force, 93; seizes public buildings, 93.
- TURRILL, J., consul at Honolulu, 91; acts as diplomatic representative, 91; gives information to State Department of *La Poursuivante's* incident, 92; replies to note of French consul, 92; protests against French aggressions, 92; informs Washington of same, 93.
- TUSCARORA, United States steamship, arrives, 138.
- TYLER, President, sends special message to Congress, 74; Kamehameha III appeals to, 81; grants his request, 81; recommends provision for a consul, 86; approves Commissioner Brown's position in Wiley matter, 89.
- VANCOUVER, Capt. GEORGE, arrives, 16; teaches rudiments of civilization, 17; raises British flag, 17; promises to send missionaries, 17.
- VARIGNY, M. DE, 132.
- VILLALOBO, RUY LOPEZ DE, 2.
- VINCENNES, United States steamship, visits Islands, 59.
- Waimea*, fort erected at, 17.
- WALKER, Rear-Admiral, remonstrates against withdrawal of American war vessels from Islands, 231.
- WATERHOUSE, HENRY, 181.
- WEBSTER, DANIEL, Secretary of State, addressed by Hawaiian commissioners, 71; replies to commissioners, 73; makes implied promise of protection, 76; instructs Severance in French incident, 102, 103; checks French aggressions, 104.
- Whale-fishery*, rise of, 20; its connection with the Islands, 35, 36; transshipment of oil at Honolulu, 39, 109; its highest point, 40; its decline, 40, 120.
- WHITNEY, SAMUEL, 23.
- WILCOX, ROBERT W., leads insurrection against Kala-kaua, 158.
- WILDER, W. C., member Committee of Public Safety, 181; commissioner to Washington to negotiate treaty of annexation, 188.
- WILEY, JOHN, 87; tried by jury, 88.
- WILLIS, ALBERT S., appointed minister to Hawaii, 205; arrives at post, 208; presents credentials to President Dole, 208; his personal character, 208; his instructions from Secretary Gresham, 209, 210; invites ex-queen to confer with him, 210; interview with her,

## INDEX

- 210, 211; belief in Honolulu that he would employ force to restore queen, 212; American residents protest to, 213; receives note of inquiry from President Dole, 214; makes evasive reply, 214; is in frequent communication with ex-queen and her agent, 214; letter to from ex-queen, 215; makes no reply to Dole's second letter of inquiry, 217; formally demands that Provisional Government relinquish authority to ex-queen, 217; informed from Washington that he cannot use force, 218; fails so to inform the Provisional Government, 219; President Dole remonstrates with, 219, 220, 221; makes evasive reply, 221; his relations with Hawaiian government greatly strained, 226; demand for his recall would have been justifiable, 227; his unfortunate subsequent attitude, 227; letter of remonstrance from Mr. Dole to, 227, 228; declines to attend first anniversary of Provisional Government, 228; his death, 228.
- WILLIS, Bishop, opposed to American sentiment in Islands, 174.
- WILSON, C. B., confidential adviser of Liliuokalani, 167.
- WILTSE, Capt., commands cruiser *Boston*, 184; lands troops to protect Honolulu, 185.
- WODEHOUSE, British minister, 143; displays prejudice to United States, 143.
- WOODWARD, Commander, 161.
- Yale College*, 21.
- YOUNG, JOHN, captured by natives, 12; leads force against Kamehameha, 14; fort built by his advice, 18; marriage of his grand-daughter, 118.
- YOUNG, Lieut. LUCIEN, preserves the flag which Commissioner Blount ordered hauled down, 251.







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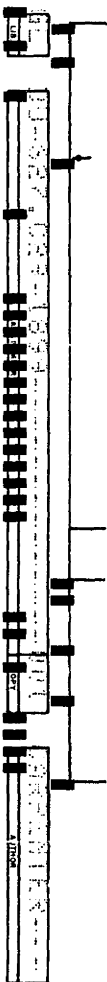
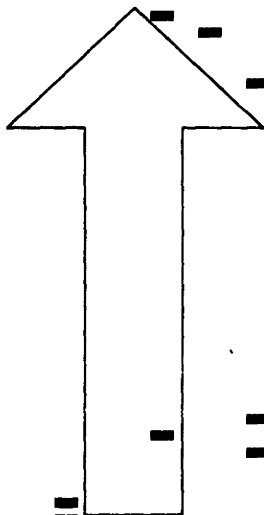
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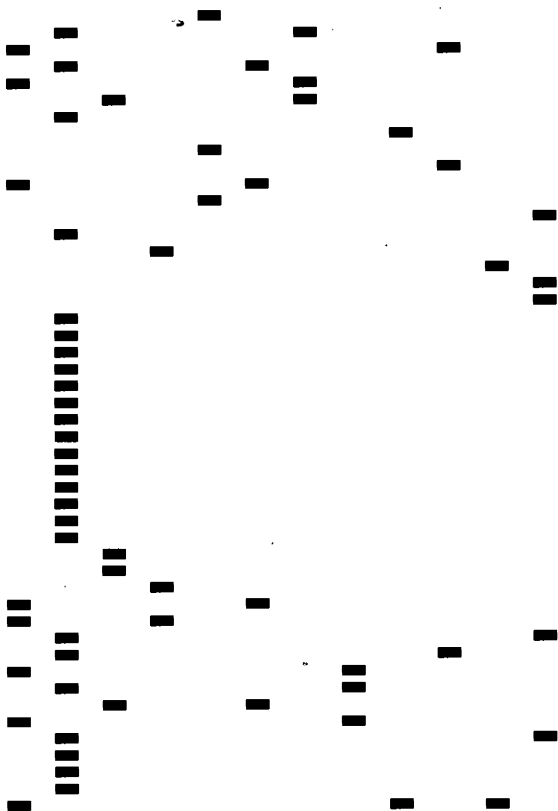
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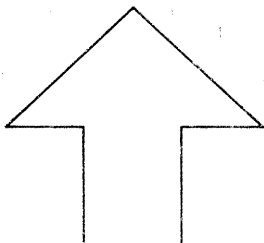




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